

Clerics and Clansmen

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Clerics and Clansmen

The Diocese of Argyll between the Twelfth
and Sixteenth Centuries

By

Iain G. MacDonald



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Cover illustration: Medieval effigy of an unknown priest at Kilmory Chapel, Knapdale.
© Iain MacDonald

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To my parents

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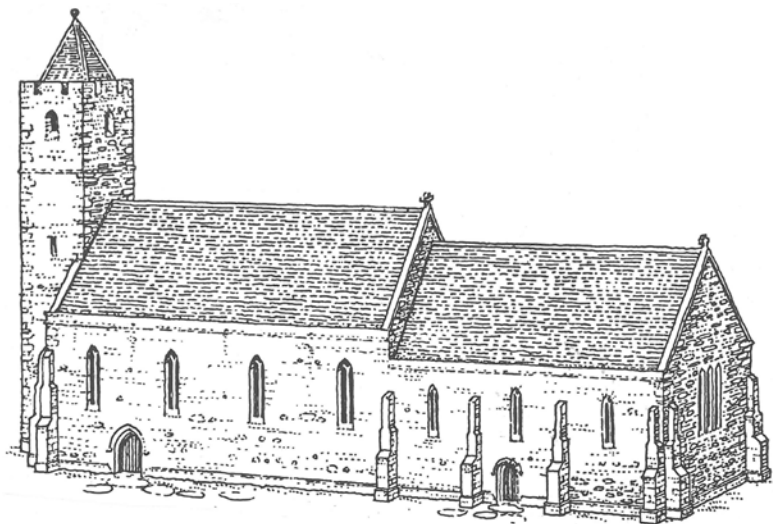


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Lismore Cathedral as it may have looked in the late medieval period by Henry Edward Odling. (© Odling family)



Fig. 2. Lismore Parish Church as it stands today. (© Author)



Fig. 3. The Episcopal Castle of Achadun, Lismore. (© Author)

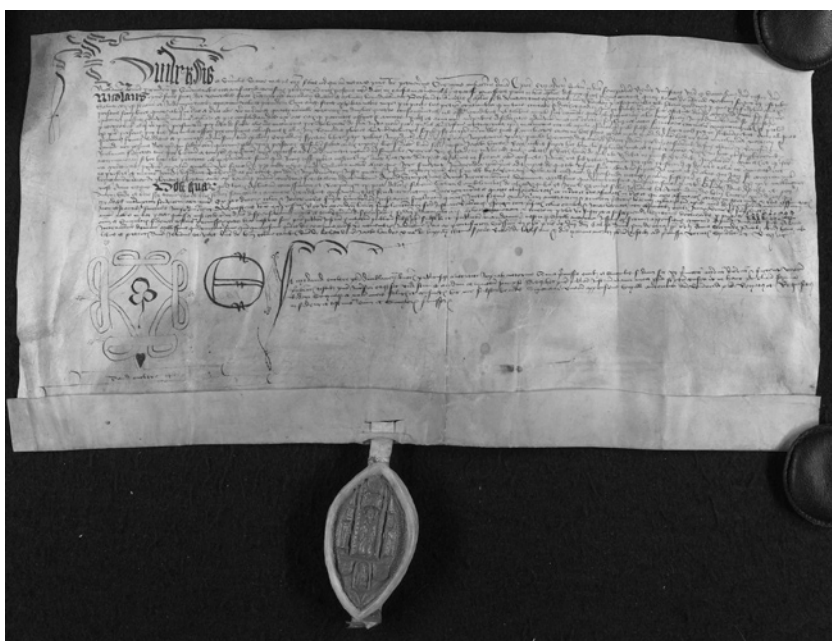


Fig. 4. Letter, dated 20 November 1454, from George Lauder, bishop of Argyll, confirming papal marriage dispensation for Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy and Seònaid Stiùbhart, daughter of Eoin Stiùbhart, Lord of Lorn. The episcopal seal is attached. (SCOTLANDSIMAGES.COM Crown Copyright 2009 The National Archives of Scotland GD112/1/8)



Fig. 5. Nereabolls Cross, Islay. (SC 423573 © Crown Copyright: RCAHMS. Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk)



Fig. 6. The *Bachull Mòr* of St Mo Luóc. (© Niall Livingstone, Baron of Bachuil)



Fig. 7. The remains of the late medieval tower of the collegiate church of St Fionntáin Munnu, and the modern church of St Munn, Kilmun. (© Author)



Fig. 8. Effigy of an unidentified priest at Kilmory church, Arisaig.
(© Andrew MacDonald)



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(© Author)

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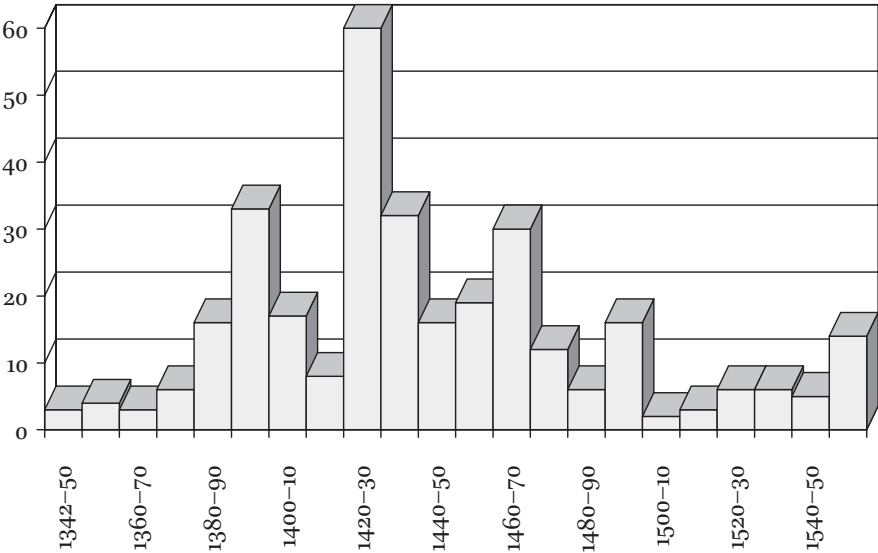


Table 2. Contributions of tenths in Bagimond's Roll
(based upon SHS Misc., iv, 3-77).

Name of diocese	First year of payment (1274)	Second year of payment (1275)	Tenths paid or payable from 6 years of collection (1287)
St Andrews	£321. 16s. (archd. of St A) £504? 3s. 3d. (archd. of Lothian)	£351. 7s. (archd. of St A) £344? 3s. (archd. of Lothian)	£6500.4s.
Glasgow	£531. 17s. 4d.	£377. 8s. 6d.	£4575. 3s. 6d.
Aberdeen	£278? 11s. 6d.	untotalled	£1700. 15s. 10d.
Moray	£219. 8s. 6d.	untotalled	£1355. 15s. 10d.
Dunkeld	£172. 19s. 6d.	untotalled	no entries
Ross	£44. 2s. 10d.	no entries	£377. 7s. 8d.
Caithness	£36. 9s. 4d.	£45. 11s. 10d.	£180. 15s. 2d.
Brechin	£48. 8s. 10d.	£70. 15s. 7d.	£433. 5s. 3d.
Argyll	£34. 12s.	£34. 12s. 1d.	£325. 8d.
Dunblane	£108. 9s. 2d.	£110. 14s. 10d.	£656. 13s. 11d.
Galloway	£29. 12s. 1d. (for two years?)	£29. 12s. 1d. (for two years?)	£805. 18s.

Table 3. Chief papal executors in Argyll diocese, 1342-1512.

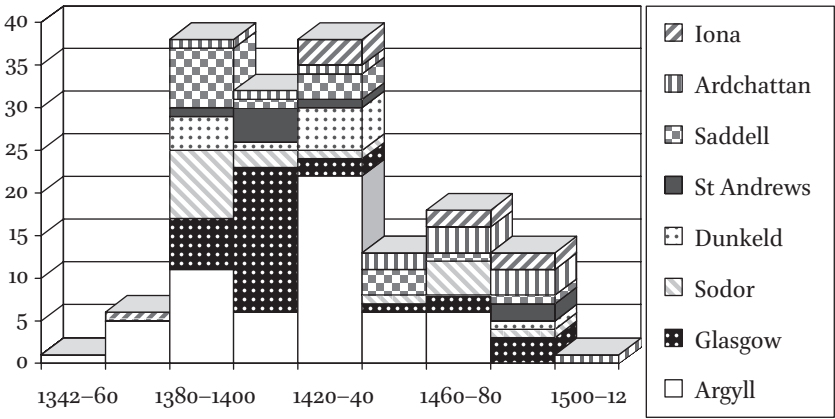


Table 4. Genealogy of major clergy from Clann Chaimbeul, c. 1390–c. 1560.

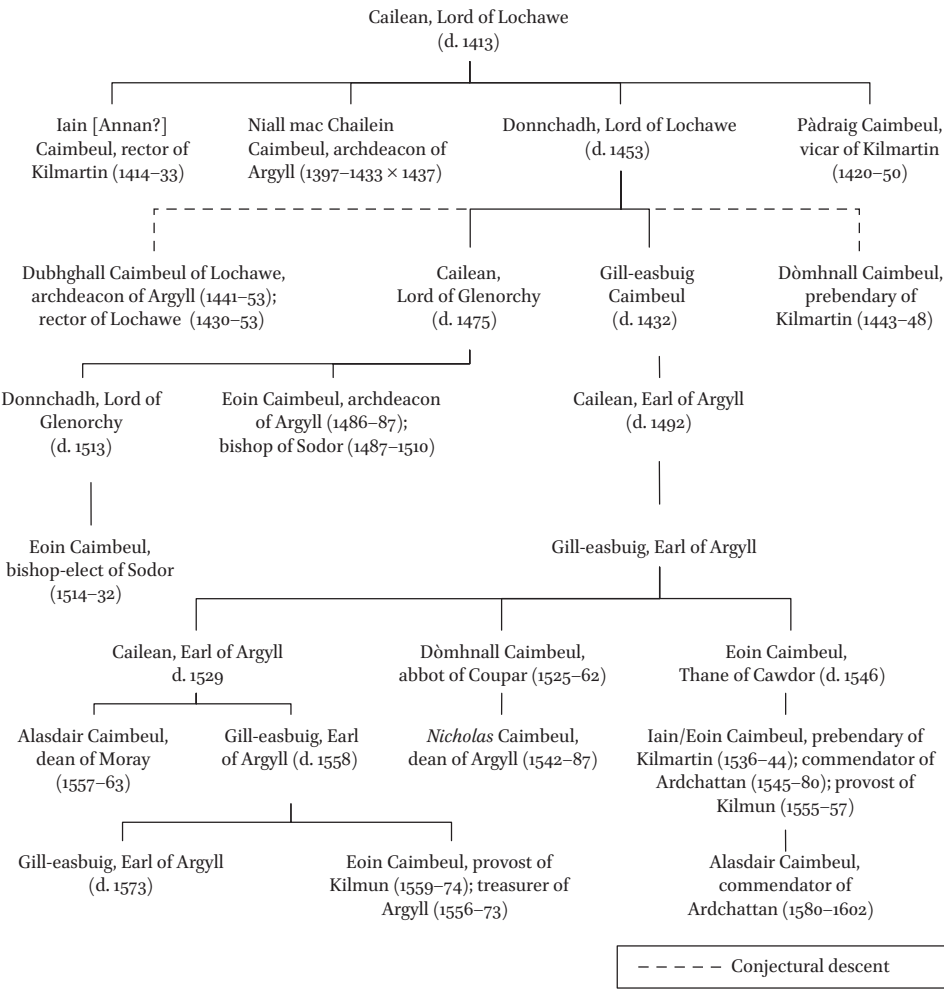


Table 5. Genealogy of major clergy from Clann Dòmhnail, c. 1419–1480.

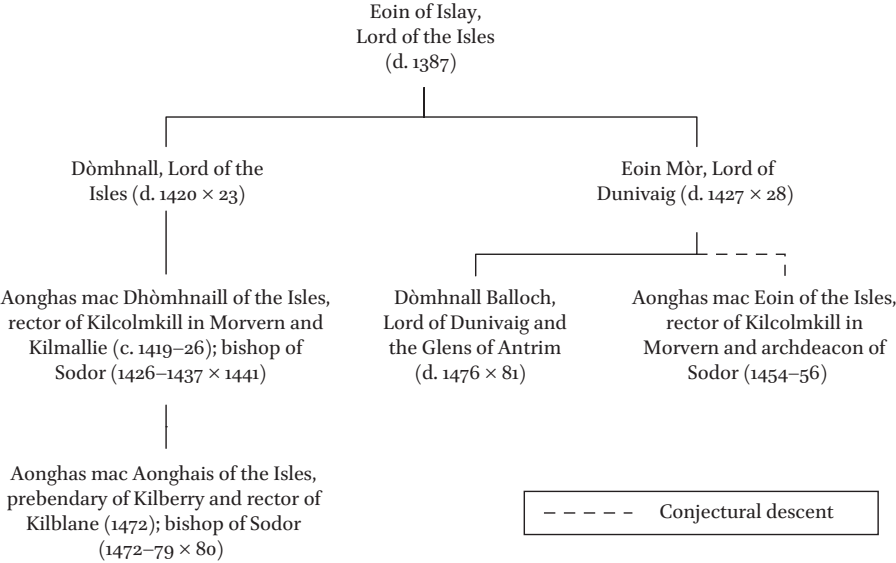


Table 6. The origin and status of illegitimate clergy from Argyll diocese, based upon official archives, 1340–1560.¹

Category of parent	Penitenzieria Ap.	CSSR / CPL	RSS / RMS	Total
Sons of priests and unmarried woman	14	26	4	44
Sons of monks	2	3 ²		5
Sons of bishops	0	1		1
Sons of abbots	0	1		1
Son of deacons	1	1		2
Sons of subdeacons	1	1		2
Sons of clerks	0	1		1
Sons of married men and unmarried women	1	2 [3]		3
Sons of unmarried men, now married, and unmarried women	1 ³	0		1
Sons of unmarried parents	4 [5]	13 [14]	1	18
Sons of unmarried parents, now married	0	1		1
Unstated	1	2 – [3]	1	4
TOTAL	25 [26]	52 [55]	6	83

¹ The bracketed numbers include cases of repetition, where one cleric features in two sources. In such cases a fuller or more accurate record is favoured e.g. in *CPL* xvii, part II, no.53, 'Donald Malfadzan', appears in a papal letter of 8 March 1492 as suffering from an unspecified defect of birth, but in an earlier penitentiary petition of 31 January 1483 he is identified as 'Donald MacFacky', the son of a priest and unmarried woman. *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 32, fo. 201v.

² Two of these monks were registered as priests.

³ Eoin Caimbeul, scholar, 1466, is named as son of an unmarried man, now married, and an unmarried woman (*de soluto coniugato et soluta*). *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 14, fo.258r. This corrects the information in *CSSR*, v, no.1109, which stated that he was the son of a married man [Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy] and unmarried woman. *BBT*, 11, written in the late sixteenth century, described the mother as a "woman off the Clandondoquhie [Clan Donachie]".

Table 7. Pie chart of the origins of illegitimate clergy from papal and royal sources, 1342–1560.

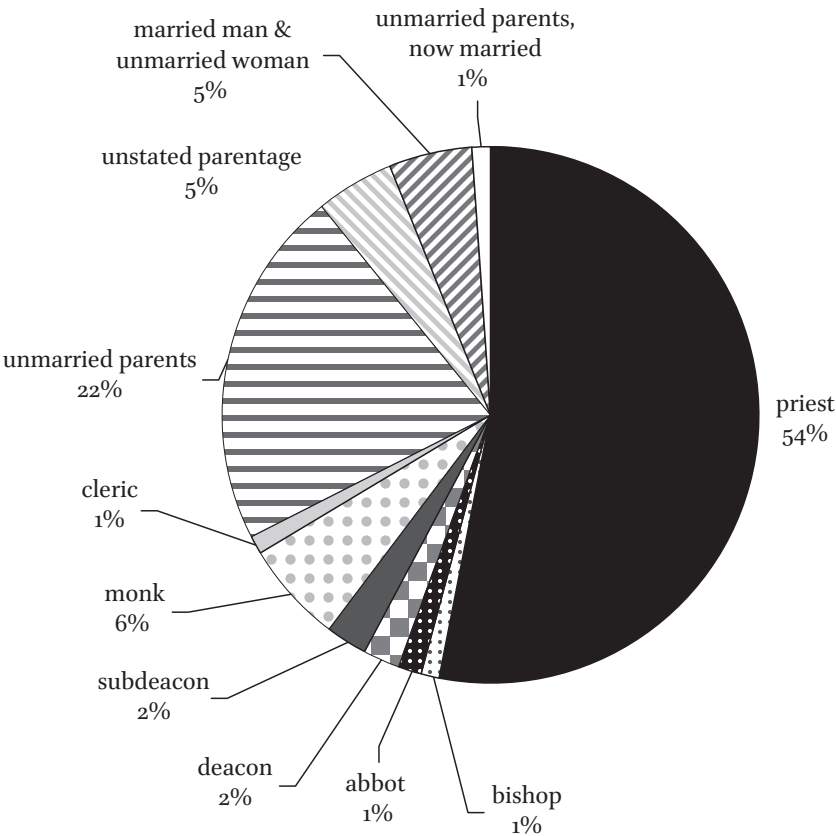


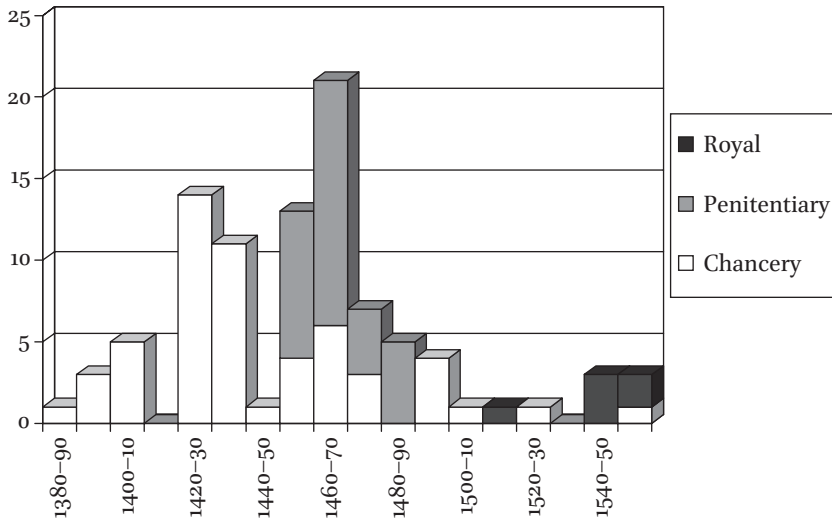
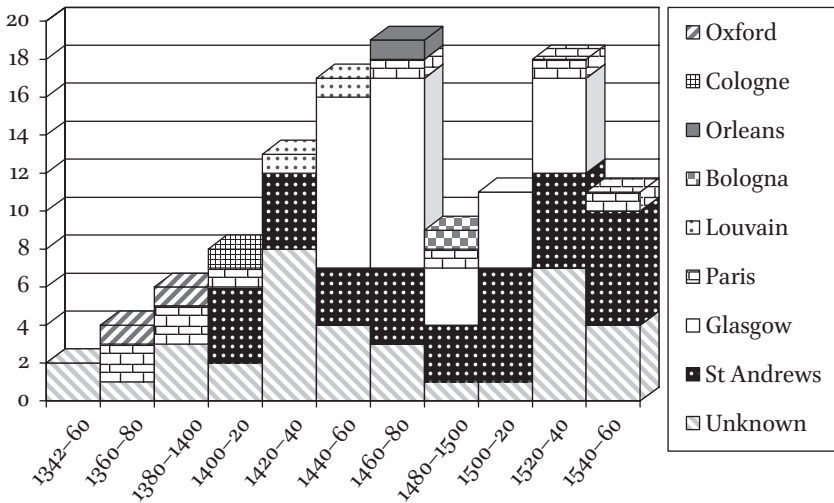
Table 8. Petitions regarding illegitimate clergy from Argyll, 1340–1560.⁴

Table 9. Universities attended by beneficed clergy in Argyll, 1342–1560.



⁴ Multiple petitions by one cleric are treated as a single case. The only exception is John Lauder, who petitioned twice to the Penitentiary for two different types of dispensations from illegitimacy.

Table 10. Universities attended by local Argyllshire, beneficed clergy in Argyll, 1342–1560.

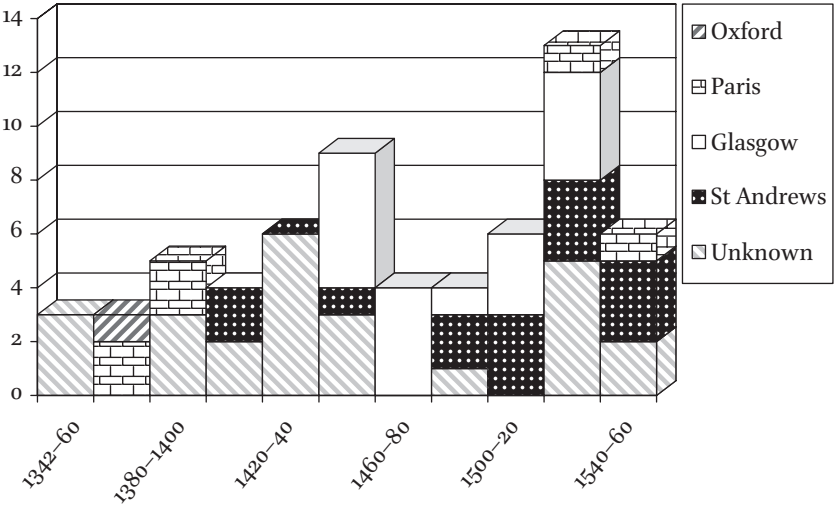


Table 11. Degree courses taken by beneficed clergy in Argyll, 1342–1560.

University	No. student clergy	Civ. law	Can. law	Both laws	Arts	Theol	Med	Unkwn
St Andrews	34	—	—	—	33	—	—	1
Glasgow	31	—	1	—	14	—	—	16
Paris	9	—	3	—	3	—	—	3
Oxford	2	—	—	1	—	1*	—	—
Louvain	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Cologne	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bologna	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Orleans	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unknowns	36	2	14	1	36	3	—	19
Totals	117	5	18	2	86	4	1	40

* Denotes Finlay of Albany, who had the option to study at Oxford or Cambridge.

Table 12. Table of valuations of benefices derived from papal records, 1342–1560.

Church	Rectories / prebends	Vicarages
<i>Archdeaconry</i>	£9; 30 marks (£20); £20; 40 marks (£26.6); £30; 45 marks (£30); £35; £40	<i>not applicable</i>
<i>Lismore Deanery</i>	£8; £9; £16; £20	<i>not applicable</i>
<i>Lismore Precentorship</i>	£8; £9	<i>not applicable</i>
<i>Lismore Chancellorship</i>	£8	<i>not applicable</i>
<i>Lismore Treasurership</i>	12 marks; £8; 18 marks (£12)	<i>not applicable</i>
<i>Kilfinan</i>		10 marks (£6.6); £4; £6; £7; £9; £12; 24 marks ; 25 marks old (£16); 26 marks (£17.2)
<i>Kilmodan</i>	£10	£9
<i>Inverchaolain</i>		5 marks (£3.3)
<i>Dunoon</i>	£9; £12	
<i>Kilmun</i>	12 marks (£8)	
<i>Strathlachlan</i>		
<i>Kilmaghlis</i>		
<i>Lochgailhead</i>	25 marks (£16.5)	15 marks (£10); £6; £8
<i>Kilmorich</i>		
<i>Inveraray</i>	£8	
<i>Glassary</i>	£11 non-resident; £20; 40 marks (£26.4); £40 <i>as prebend</i> : £12	20 marks (£13)
<i>Kilmartin</i>	<i>as prebend</i> : £10	
<i>Craignish</i>	£12	
<i>Kilcolmkill (Kintyre)</i>	<i>as prebend</i> : 9 marks (£6); £6; £8	4 marks (£2.64)
<i>Kilblane</i>	£8	
<i>Kilkivan</i>	£7	£5
<i>Kilkerran?</i>	£9 ? uncertain	10 marks (£6.6); £4; £5
<i>Kilchousland</i>	<i>as prebend</i> : 6 marks (£4); 8 marks (£5.3)	
<i>Kilmichael</i>	6 marks (£4); 7 marks (£4.6); 8 marks (£5.3); £4; £5	

Table 12 (*cont.*)

Church	Rectories / prebends	Vicarages
<i>Kilchenzie</i>		£2
<i>Killarow</i>	£7	
<i>Killean</i>		
<i>Kilcalmonell</i>		10 marks of English money (£6.6); £4; £6; £7; £8
<i>Kilberry</i>	<i>as prebend</i> : £5; £9; 10 marks (£6.6)	£7; £8
<i>Keills</i>		
<i>Kilchattan</i>	<i>despoiled</i>	
<i>Kilbrandon</i>		
<i>Kilmelfort</i>	10 marks (£6.6); 11 marks (£7.3); 12 marks (£8); 18 marks (£12); £11	
<i>Kilninver</i>	100 shillings (£5)	
<i>Kilbride</i>		12 marks (£8); £5 old; £10 old; £25 old
<i>Kilmore</i>	£8 old, £9, £10	£4; £5
<i>Lochawe</i>	£30	
<i>Inishail</i>		
<i>Glenorchy</i>	11 marks	£8
<i>Muckairn</i>		£4 old
<i>Kilbodan</i>		14 marks; 15 marks (£9–10)
<i>Lismore</i>		£5
<i>Eilean Munde</i>	8 marks (£5.3)	
<i>Kilmonivaig</i>	20 marks (£13.4), 30 marks (£20), £20	£6
<i>Kilmallie</i>	10 marks (£6.6); 12 marks (£8); £8; £9; £10; £16	£6
<i>Kilcolmkill (Morvern)</i>	£6; £8; £9; £10; £16	
<i>Killintag</i>	8 marks (£5.3); 9 marks (£6)	
<i>Ardnamurchan</i>	9 marks (£6); 10 marks (£6.6)	

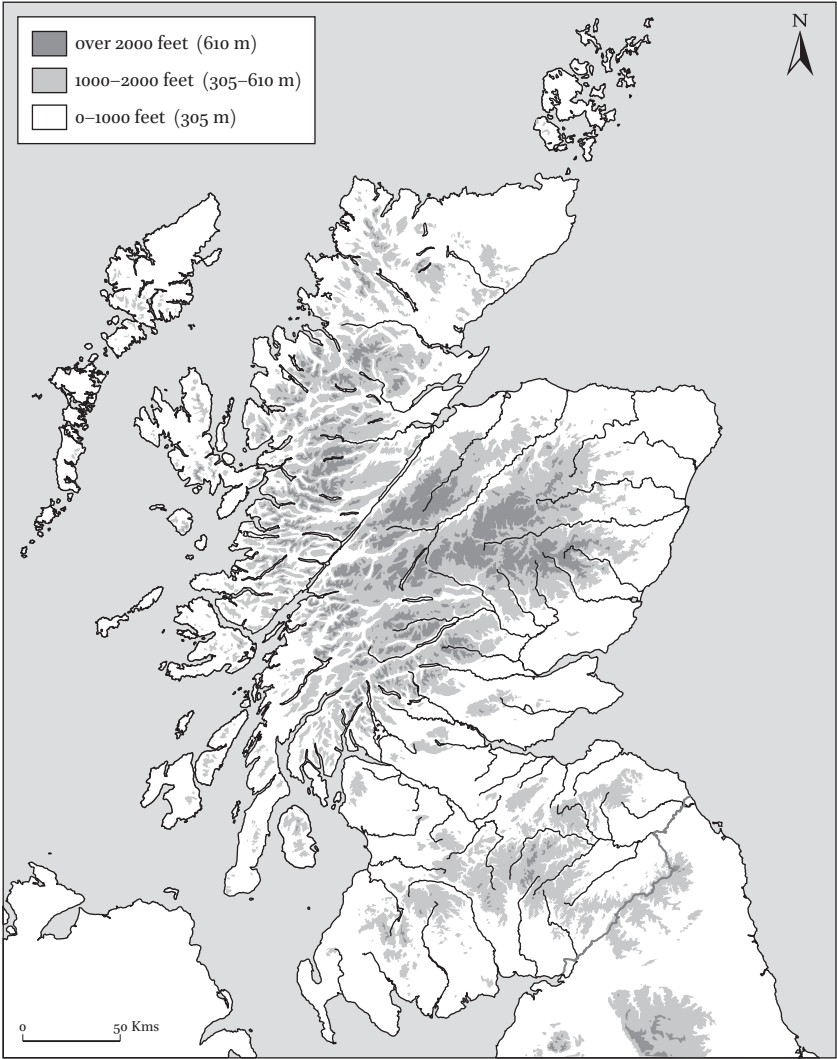
Table 12 (*cont.*)

Church	Rectories / prebends	Vicarages
<i>Eilean Fhìonain</i>	£4	
<i>Moidart</i>		
<i>Arisaig</i>	5 marks (£3.4); 8 marks (£5.3)	
<i>Knoydart</i>	4 marks (£2.7); 6 marks (£4)	
<i>Glenelg</i>	8 marks (£5.3); 20 marks (£13.4)	

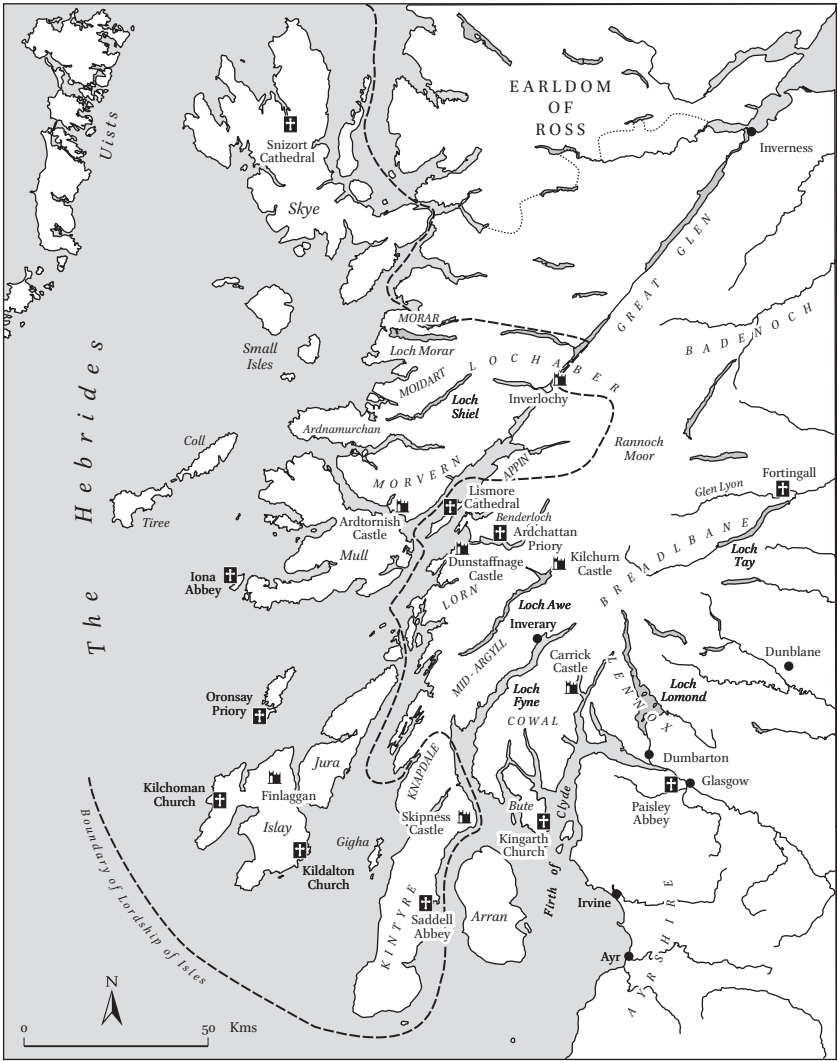
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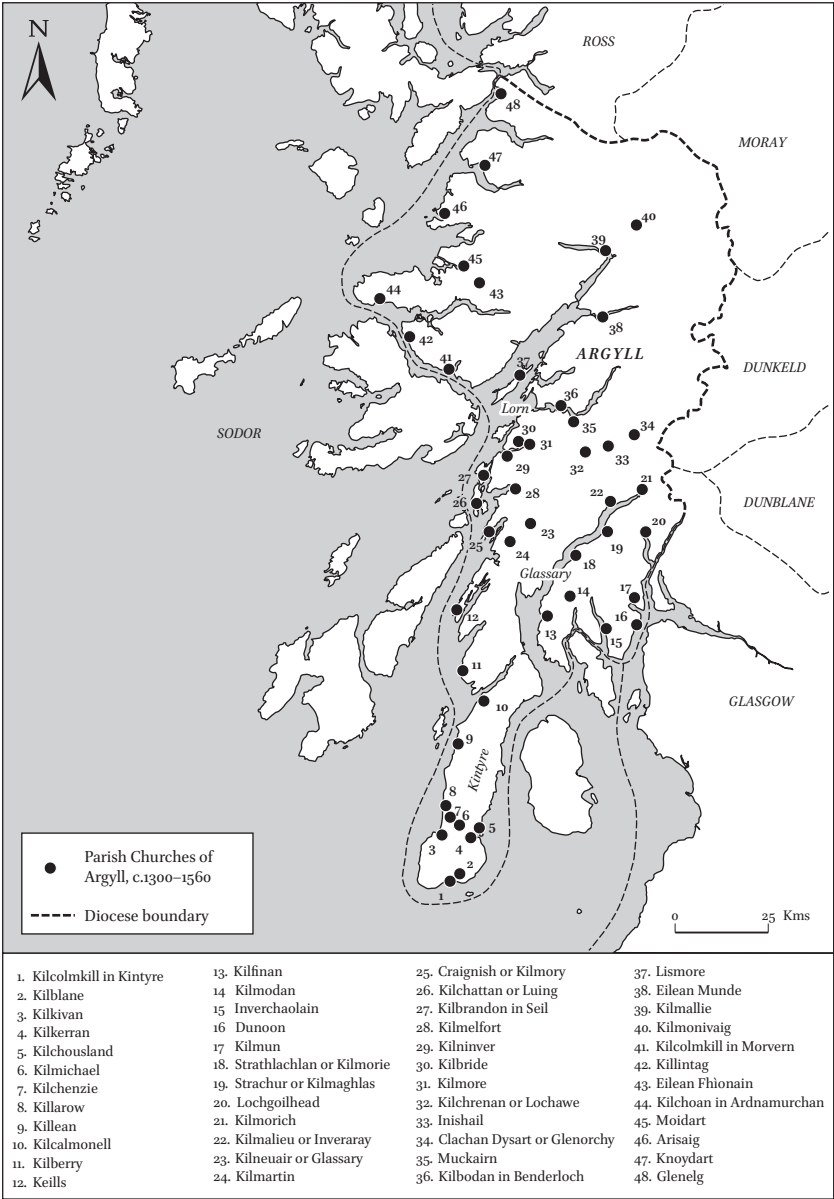
MAPS



Map 1. Relief map of Scotland.



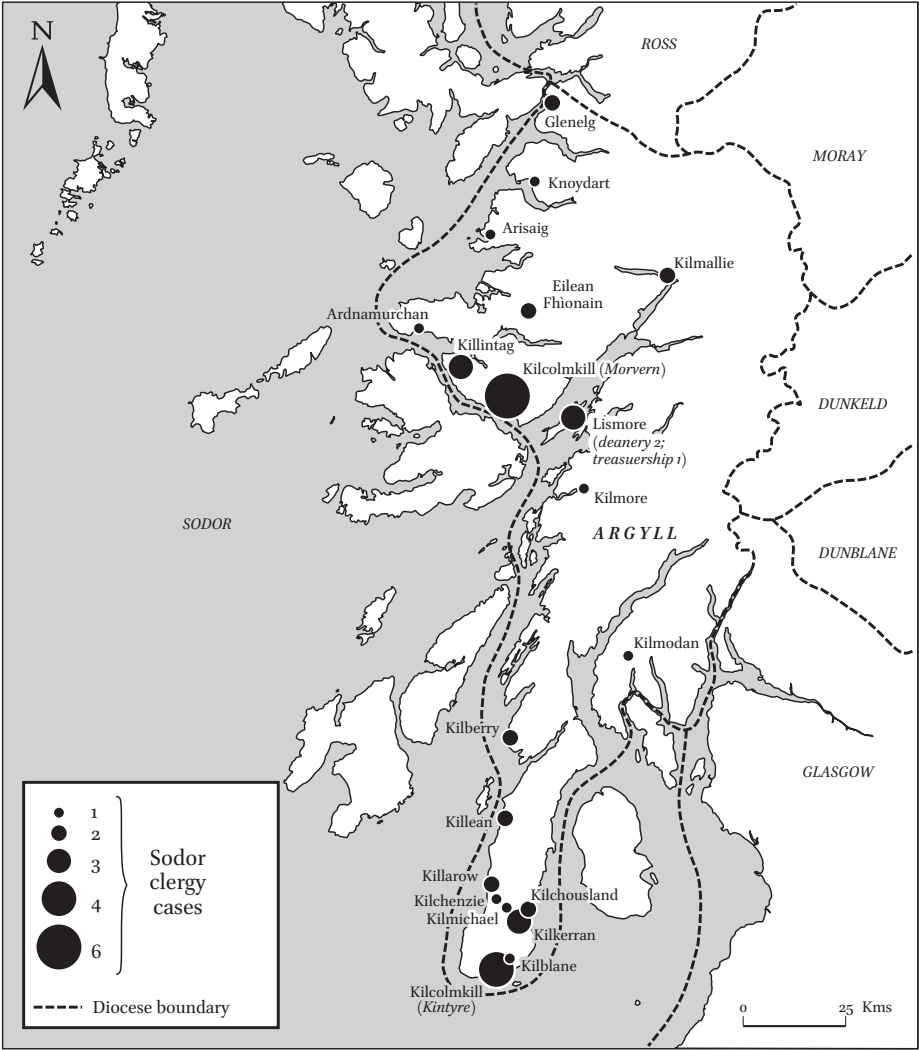
Map 2. Key territories, churches, castles and burghs.



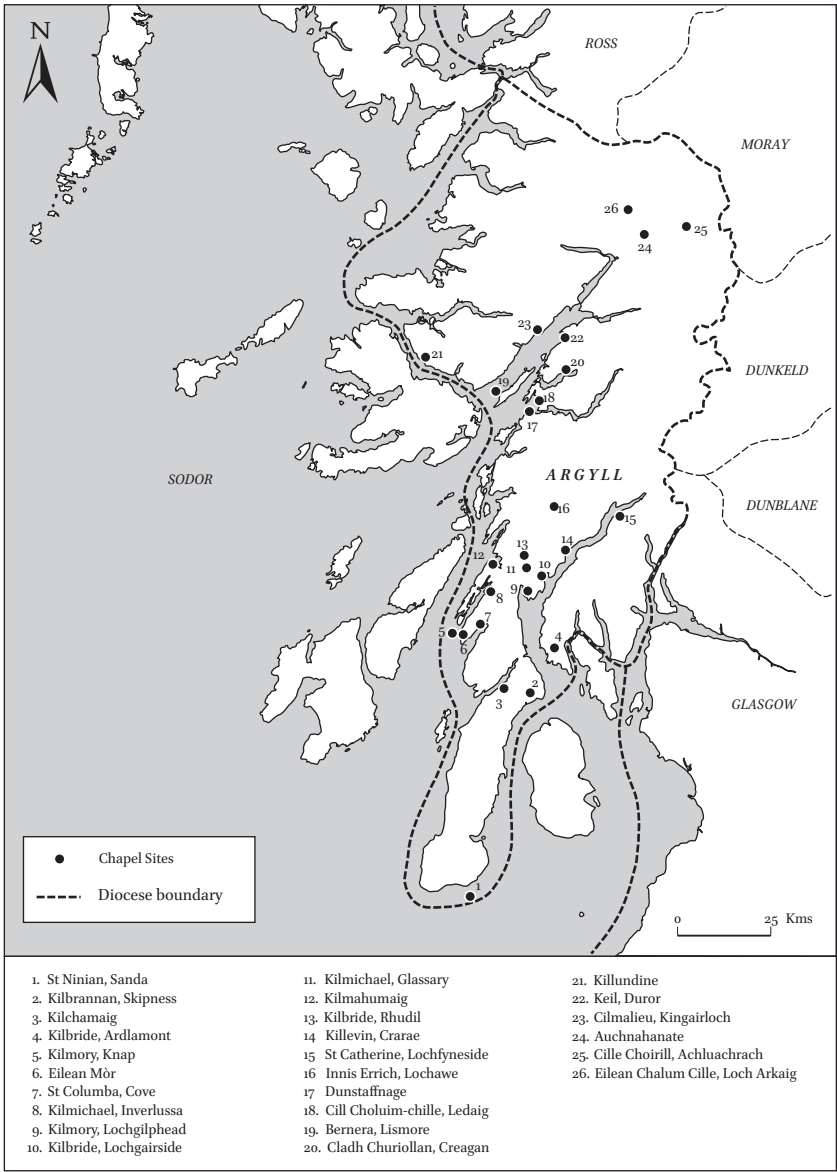
Map 3. Parish churches in the diocese of Argyll.



Map 4. Geographical origins of secular clergy of Argyll, 1342–1560, by diocese.



Map 5. Benefices sought or held by Sodor clergy in Argyll, 1342–1560.



Map 6. Some Argyll chapels active during the late medieval period.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AC</i>	"The Auchinleck Chronicle", Appendix 2 in C. McGladdery, <i>James II</i> (Edinburgh, 1990).
<i>ACSB</i>	<i>The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418–88</i> , ed. A.I. Cameron (Oxford, 1934).
<i>ADC 1501–1554</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501–1554</i> , ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932).
<i>ALI</i>	<i>Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493</i> , eds. J. Munro and R.W. Munro (SHS, Edinburgh, 1986).
<i>APS</i>	<i>The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814–75).
<i>AS</i>	<i>Abstracts of the Particular Register of Sasines for Argyll, Bute and Dumbarton</i> , ed. H. Campbell, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1933).
<i>ASPA</i>	Archive of the Apostolic Penitentiary, transcripts from the Vatican Archives in the History Subject Area (Scottish), University of Glasgow.
<i>ASV</i>	Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
<i>AT</i>	Argyll Transcripts, made by the 10th Duke of Argyll (Argyll MSS, Inveraray; photostat copies of extracts in the History Subject Area (Scottish), University of Glasgow).
<i>Atlas</i>	<i>Atlas of Scottish History to 1707</i> , eds. P.G.B. McNeill and H.L. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996).
<i>AUP</i>	<i>Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , eds. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, 6 vols. (Paris, 1894–).
Bannerman, "Lordship"	Bannerman, J.W.M., "The Lordship of the Isles", in <i>Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. J.M. Brown (London, 1977), 209–240.
Barrell, <i>Papacy</i>	Barrell, A.D.M., <i>The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England 1342–1378</i> (Cambridge, 1995).
<i>BBT</i>	<i>The Black Book of Taymouth</i> , ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1855).

<i>BDL</i>	<i>Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore</i> , ed. W.J. Watson (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh, 1937).
Boardman, <i>Campbells</i>	Boardman, S., <i>The Campbells, 1250–1513</i> (Edinburgh, 2006).
<i>CDS</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland</i> , ed. J. Bain, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881–88).
<i>Clanranald Bk.</i>	“The Book of Clanranald”, in A. Cameron, <i>Reliquiae Celticae</i> , eds. A. Macbain and J. Kennedy, 2 vols. (Inverness, 1894), ii.
<i>Alba: Celtic Scotland</i>	<i>Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era</i> , eds. E.J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (2000: Edinburgh, 2005).
Cowan, <i>Medieval Church</i>	Cowan, I.B., <i>The Medieval Church in Scotland</i> , ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995).
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters</i> , eds. W.H. Bliss and others, 20 vols. (London and Dublin, 1893–).
<i>CPL Benedict XIII</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon 1394–1419</i> (SHS, 1976).
<i>CPL Clement VII</i>	<i>Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon 1378–94</i> (SHS, 1976).
<i>CPNS</i>	Watson, W.J., <i>The History of Celtic Place-Names of Scotland</i> (1926: Edinburgh, 1993).
<i>CPP</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope</i> , ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1896).
<i>CSSR</i>	<i>Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418–71</i> , 5 vols. eds. A.I. Cameron and others. (SHS, 1934–70, Glasgow, 1983, Edinburgh, 1997).
Dowden, <i>Bishops</i>	Dowden, J., <i>The Bishops of Scotland</i> (Glasgow, 1912).
Dowden, <i>Medieval Church</i>	Dowden, J., <i>The Medieval Church in Scotland: its constitution, organization and law</i> (Glasgow, 1910).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> (1886–).
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , eds. J. Stuart and others (Edinburgh, 1878–1908).

<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638</i> , eds. D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray (SRS, 2003).
<i>Geog. Coll.</i>	<i>Geographical collections relating to Scotland made by Walter MacFarlane</i> , ed. A Mitchell, 3 vols. (SHS, 1906–08).
<i>Glas. Reg.</i>	<i>Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis</i> , 2 vols. (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1843).
<i>Glas. Rent.</i>	<i>Liber protocollorum M. Cuthberti Simonis, notarii publici et scribae capituli Glasguensis, A.D. 1499–1513. Also Rental Book of Diocese of Glasgow A.D. 1509–1570</i> , eds. J. Bain and C. Rogers, 2 vols. (Grampian Club, 1875).
<i>Glas. Mun.</i>	<i>Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis</i> , ed. C. Innes, 4 vols. (Maitland Club, 1854).
GUS	Glasgow University, History Subject Area (Scottish), Ross Fund collection of material from the Vatican Archives.
<i>Haws, Clergy</i>	Haws, C.H., <i>Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation</i> (SRS, 1972).
<i>HP</i>	<i>Highland Papers</i> , ed. J.R.N. MacPhail, 4 vols. (SHS, 1914–34).
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts</i> (London, 1870–).
<i>IR</i>	<i>The Innes Review</i> (1950–).
<i>James IV Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James the Fourth 1505–13</i> , eds. R.K. Hannay and R.L. Mackie (SHS, 1953).
<i>James V Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of James V</i> , eds. R.K. Hannay and D. Hay (Edinburgh, 1954).
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i> (1975–).
<i>JRSAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i> (1892–).
<i>Lamont Papers</i>	<i>An Inventory of the Lamont Papers</i> , ed. N. Lamont (SRS, 1914).
<i>LMMS</i>	Steer, K.A., and Bannerman, J.W.M., <i>Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands</i> (RCAHMS, Edinburgh, 1977).
<i>Long Arm of Papal Authority</i>	<i>The Long Arm of Papal Authority: Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and Their Communication with the Holy See</i> , eds. G. Jaritz, T. Jørgensen and K. Salonen (Bergen, Budapest, Krems, 2004).

MRHS	Cowan, I.B., and Easson, D.E., <i>Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland</i> (London, 1976).
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
OPS	<i>Origines Parochiales Scotiae</i> , ed. C. Innes and J.B. Brichan, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Bannatyne Club, 1851–55).
<i>Pais. Reg.</i>	<i>Registrum Monasterii de Passelet</i> (Maitland Club, 1832).
<i>Parishes</i>	Cowan, I.B., <i>The Parishes of Medieval Scotland</i> (SRS, 1967).
PRO	Public Record Office.
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> (1851–).
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
RCAHMS, Argyll	RCAHMS, <i>Argyll, An Inventory of the Monuments</i> , 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1971–92).
<i>Reg. Aven.</i>	Registra Avenionensia.
<i>Reg. Suppl.</i>	Registra Supplicationum.
RMS	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. J.M. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1882–1914).
<i>Rot. Scot.</i>	<i>Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati</i> , eds. D. MacPherson and others, 2 vols. (1814–19).
RRS	<i>Regesta Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. G.W.S. Barrow and others, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1960–).
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i> (1923–).
RSS	<i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. M. Livingstone and others, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908–).
<i>Scotichronicon</i>	<i>Scotichronicon</i> by Walter Bower, eds. D.E.R. Watt and others, 9 vols. (Aberdeen, 1987–98).
<i>Scrymgeour Inventory</i>	<i>Inventory of Documents relating to the Scrymgeour Family Estates 1611</i> (SRS, 1912).
SGS	<i>Scottish Gaelic Studies</i> (1926–).
SHR	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i> (1903–28, 1947–).
SHS	Scottish History Society.

<i>SHS Misc.</i>	<i>The Miscellany of the Scottish History Society</i> (SHS, 1893–).
<i>SP</i>	<i>The Scots Peerage</i> , ed. J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915–).
<i>SRS</i>	Scottish Record Society.
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scottish Studies</i> (1957–).
<i>St A. Acta</i>	<i>Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sancti Andree 1413–1588</i> , ed. A.I. Dunlop (SHS, 1964).
<i>Statutes</i>	<i>Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225–1359</i> , ed. D. Patrick (SHS, 1907).
<i>Surnames</i>	G.F. Black, <i>The Surnames of Scotland: their origin, meaning and history</i> (1946: Edinburgh, 2004).
<i>SWHIHR</i>	<i>Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research.</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , eds. T. Dickson and J. Balfour Paul, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877–1916).
<i>TGSI</i>	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</i> (1871–).
<i>Vet. Mon.</i>	<i>Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia</i> , ed. A. Theiner (Rome, 1864).
<i>Watt and Shead</i>	<i>Religious Houses The Heads of Religious Houses in Scotland from Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries</i> , eds. D.E.R. Watt and N. Shead (SRS, 2001).
<i>Watt, Graduates</i>	D.E.R. Watt, <i>A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410</i> (Oxford, 1977).

NOTE ON NOMENCLATURE

Providing a system for accurately translating the names of churches and Gaelic individuals that will satisfy all scholars is no easy task, particularly as there was no standard orthography in the Middle Ages. Contemporaries usually identified the parish churches in Argyll by the name of their patron saint in both papal and local sources, but because of the variety of forms and the inconsistencies in attribution the convention here is to provide them in their present-day English forms as found in Cowan's *Parishes*.¹ In most cases English rather than Gaelic forms of place-names are favoured, with one or two exceptions.

The personal names of individuals and kindreds of Gaelic language and culture are given in Gaelic rather than English, thus *Caimbeul* and *MacGhill-Eathain* rather than *Campbell* and *MacLean*. Most translations have sought to adhere to the modern standardised spellings following the Gaelic Orthographic Convention, although there are some Early Modern forms, such as *Eoin* and *MacDòmhnail* instead of *Iain* and *MacDhòmhnaill*. Anglicised forms are used in cases where personal names are of Lowland Scots provenance, although this can pose particular difficulties when dealing with individuals from kindreds which straddled the cultural and linguistic divide between Gaelic and English (or 'Scots'). For example, it is probably more accurate to envisage the families of the Campbells of Loudoun in Ayrshire or the Colquhouns in Glasgow as principally English or Scots-speaking during the later medieval period, even though the clans to which they ultimately belonged were primarily Gaelic in culture and speech. Conversely, although of Breton descent, the expansion of the lordship of the Stewarts into the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* promoted their acculturation and the emergence of Gaelicised *Stiùbhart* lineages in regions such as Lorn and Badenoch. Where such instances occur, the guiding principal has been to employ Gaelic identification for those individuals and kindreds residing in Gaelic Scotland and/or principally associated with the local Gaelic cultural milieu, but to favour English where there are grounds for doubt: hence *Stiùbhart* of Lorn, but the Albany Stewarts. This approach will doubtless be open to criticism in some cases, but it

¹ For example, the medieval church of St Columba of Glassary, which appears in over 30 different forms in papal correspondence, is here simply referred to as Glassary.

does highlight to the reader the significant linguistic and cultural realities which existed within medieval Scotland and were affecting Argyll throughout this period of study.

Accurately translating forenames is also particularly problematic, not only because of the stated editorial policy of the *CPL* to translate Latin forenames such as “Johannes” or “Duncanus” into the modern English form ‘John’ or ‘Duncan’, but also because of doubts as to which Gaelic forename may lie behind a Latin equivalent.² In some difficult cases, therefore, names are first reproduced as they appear in the text and, where appropriate, oblique cases are amended into nominatives. A translation of the underlying Gaelic name is usually then given in square brackets, with the Gaelic name preferred thereafter. However, in more straightforward instances the Gaelic name is usually given first. Attention should be given in these translations to the distinction between the *mac* prefix commencing with lower-case, designating a patronymic (‘son of’) followed by the genitive form of the name involved; and *Mac* commencing with upper-case, signifying a kindred surname.

In forms of dating given for a cleric’s incumbency in the text, I have followed the policy established in Watt and Murray’s *Fasti* of using the sign ‘x’. Thus, where ‘x’ occurs preceding the date given – for example ‘x 1420’ – it means at some point before but no later than a terminus of 1420. Where ‘x’ succeeds the date (e.g. ‘1420 x’) it means at some point later but no earlier than 1420.

Referencing generally follows the standard “List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560” in *Scottish Historical Review* 42 (1963).

² Ibid.; *CPL*, i, pp. iv, xv, xxxix.

INTRODUCTION

This is the first dedicated study of its kind for Scotland. Scholarship in this arena is sorely wanting, as detailed analyses of the medieval Scottish Church, especially in the later Middle Ages, are few and far between. The Scottish Reformation in 1560 and the controversies surrounding Church government proved more fertile ground for ecclesiastical historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in part because the voluminous surviving material dwarfed that for the medieval period, but also because of the predilections of Scots historians to study the ecclesiastical history of their own Presbyterian or Episcopalian persuasion. Those scholars who delved into the medieval past tended to ignore the post twelfth-century Church, regarding it as an age of 'spiritual darkness' after it had been reorganised along continental lines by the Anglo-Normans and had fallen under the yoke of papal tyranny. They preferred instead to focus on the Church before AD 1000, usually in vain attempts to find precedent for the expression of their own brand of the Christian faith, or to discover the elusive mystical 'Celtic Christianity' among the aboriginal peoples who inhabited Europe's outermost fringes, untouched and uncorrupted by Roman civilisation.¹

The tide should have begun to turn with the opening up of the Vatican Archives and the publication of the *Calendar of Papal Letters* series, supplemented in Scotland by the *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome* under the indefatigable scholarship of Annie Dunlop. These together published thousands of papal supplications and letters to and from fifteenth-century Scots and revealed a close working relationship between Scotland and Rome which belied the physical distance between them.² Yet while innumerable ecclesiastical studies utilising the supplications have emerged over the succeeding decades, most have either been biographies of individual Scottish bishops or studies of the *sublimes et literati*, the educated clerical elite of bishops, archdeacons and cathedral clergy who governed

¹ For analyses of this phenomenon see Donald E. Meek, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity* (Haddington, 2000); Thomas Owen Clancy, "'Celtic' or 'Catholic'? Writing the history of Scottish Christianity, AD 664–1093", *RSCHS* 32 (2002), 5–40.

² This relationship still awaits proper analysis, but see Barrell, *Papacy* for the fourteenth century.

the medieval Church.³ Few, aside from Ian Cowan and Andrew Barrell, have ventured beyond the higher clergy to examine the beneficed at the ordinary parochial level, and the debate in Scotland has become stagnated around the subject of appropriations – the diversion of parochial tithes towards some other religious house or institution.⁴ This is not to deny that appropriation had become a serious issue for the Scottish Church; by 1560 some 86% of Scottish parishes had been appropriated, a proportion which was, with the exception of Switzerland, higher than anywhere else in Europe.⁵ Yet it has also become a rather convenient stick to beat the medieval Church with and belittle its performance, without giving fuller consideration of its everyday operation and the quality of its personnel, or of regional and cultural variations. That Bishop John Dowden's *Medieval Church in Scotland* – now over a century old – still remains the definitive study for the period says as much about the inertia of modern historians as it does about the bishop's erudition.

Our understanding of the local Church and parish clergy in Northern Europe has been redefined in past few decades through an assortment of prosopographical studies by various modern scholars. The tendency hitherto was to concentrate on the Reformation period,⁶ but in the past few years there has been a emerging focus upon the medieval parish itself, while increasing numbers of historians – Robert Swanson, David Lepine, William Dohar and Virginia Davis to name just a few – have examined

³ David Lepine, "England: Church and Clergy", in *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. S.H. Rigby (London, 2003), 359–380, at 370. There are numerous articles by Ian Cowan, David McRoberts and Mark Dilworth in *IR* and *RSCHS*, while Donald Watt's *Fasti* and *Graduates* list the cathedral and university-educated clergy, respectively. The notable biographical studies include Annie Dunlop's *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1950); Leslie MacFarlane's *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431–1514* (Aberdeen, 1985); and John Durkan's *William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1951). See also N.F. Shead, "The administration of the diocese of Glasgow in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *SHR* 55 (1976), 127–150; J. MacQueen, "Alexander Myln, Bishop George Brown, and the Chapter of Dunkeld", in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400–1643*, ed. J. Kirk (Oxford, 1991), 349–360; I.B. Cowan and M.J. Yellowlees, "The Cathedral Clergy of Dunkeld in the Early Sixteenth Century", in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture Offered to John Durkan*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, M. Lynch and I.B. Cowan (Leiden, 1994), 136–143.

⁴ Their chief contributions are Barrell, *Papacy*; Cowan, *Medieval Church* and his *Parishes*. See also Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester, 2006), 14–15.

⁵ *Parishes*, v.

⁶ Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969); Margaret Bowker, *The Henrician Reformation: the diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521–1547* (Cambridge, 1981).

the clergy as a discrete group, offering a more considered analysis of their careers and their behaviour within the context of societal norms.⁷ English scholarship is well ahead of the curve in this field, but recent works from Ireland and Scandinavia – notably by Henry Jefferies, Torstein Jørgensen and Kirsi Salonen – have underlined the necessity and potential value of further research from other regions to provide a more nuanced view of the beneficed themselves and of the societies which they served.⁸ The importance of the beneficed cannot be overestimated. They were the communicators and implementers of the Church's evangelical mission and were present in every parish. As members of the wider Church, they were the principal conduit for the transmission of foreign influences into their own kingdom, not only through their role as the religious representative of the papacy, but through their education at continental universities, and the introduction of foreign books into the kingdom.⁹ A few treatments of regular and secular Scottish churchmen (most notably by Janet Foggie and Jennifer McDonald) have kept pace with the latest methods and perspectives, but there exists no thorough-going analysis of a medieval Scottish diocese or its beneficed clergy within its own social and cultural milieu.¹⁰ This monograph is intended to move scholarship forward in this direction.

In doing so, the study follows in the footsteps of scholars like Jørgensen and Salonen who, largely deprived of local ecclesiastical sources, have

⁷ There are numerous studies by these scholars, but see, for example, R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989); David Levine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995); William J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership* (Philadelphia, 1995); Virginia Davis, "The Contribution of University-Educated Secular Clerics to the Pastoral Life of the English Church", in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson*, eds. C.M. Barron and J. Stratford (Donington, 2002), 255–272. See also Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, eds., *The parish in late medieval England: proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2006); Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin, eds., *The parish in English life, 1400–1600* (Manchester, 1997).

⁸ Kirsi Salonen, *The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Late Middle Ages: The Example of the Province of Uppsala, 1448–1527* (Saarijärvi, 2001); Torstein Jørgensen, "At the Edge of the World: The Supplications from the Norwegian Province of Nidaros", in *Long Arm of Papal Authority*, 29–41. Henry A. Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518–1558* (Dublin, 1997); *History of the Diocese of Derry from Earliest Times*, eds. H.A. Jefferies and C. Devlin (Dublin, 2000); *History of the Diocese of Clogher*, ed. H.A. Jefferies (Dublin, 2005); Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie, eds., *The Parish in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland: community, territory and building* (Dublin, 2006).

⁹ Henry Jefferies, pers. comm.

¹⁰ Janet P. Foggie, *Renaissance religion in urban Scotland: the Dominican order, 1450–1560* (Leiden, 2003); Jennifer McDonald, "The Requests of Scottish Clergy in the Registers of the Sacra Penitenzieria Apostolica, 1449–1542", *RSCHS* 37 (2007), 5–53.

exploited the archives of the Papal Chancery and Penitentiary to enrich both their understanding of the character of the clergy and how the Church functioned in Scandinavia.¹¹ Although peripheral in a geographical sense, the Scots nevertheless occupied affairs at the papal *Curia* more than other 'mainstream' kingdoms, with more than 16,000 papal supplications to the Chancery and Datary between 1418 and 1560 alone.¹² This was attributable in part to the peculiar relationship Scotland had had with the papacy since 1192, when it was created a 'special daughter' of the pope, to secure the independence of the Scottish Church from English claims to superiority. This, together with the fact that it did not possess a metropolitan of its own until 1472, doubtless helps to explain the high volume of Scottish correspondence with the centre of Christian authority. Argyll lay on the western Atlantic coastline of Scotland on the edge of the then known habitable world, yet its clergy were responsible for some 400 supplications to the *Curia* between 1342 and 1560 (see table 1). The total might not appear impressive in Scottish terms, but it was remarkable for a diocese on Europe's outer rim and illustrates the degree of local recognition of papal authority in this region of the north-west. Altogether 260 Argyll churchmen appear in these records, which were typically requests for papal provision to a benefice or a dispensation from some impediment in canon law. Although the overwhelming majority of cases are of fifteenth-century date, there is a wealth of valuable biographical information to be found within them about the plaintiffs and defendants, including their social background, whether they were of illegitimate birth, their clerical status and education, as well as the variety of accusations that were made in order to win a favourable judgement. An added bonus is the uniformity of papal registration in the *Curia*, which means that the investigation should enable scholars to make comparative analysis with other European peripheries.

WHY ARGYLL?

Medieval Argyll is of intrinsic interest for a variety of reasons, which chiefly revolve around its location and Gaelic society, and the way in

¹¹ For the contact with the papacy see the various articles in *Long Arm of Papal Authority*. See also Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen and Kirsi Salonen, eds., *...et usque ad ultimum terrae: The Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts* (Budapest, New York and Rome, 2007).

¹² Around 10,000 supplications between 1492 and 1565 remain unpublished.

which the subject matter has been largely marginalised in the prevailing historiography.

Though from a European perspective Argyll lay on the physical extreme of western civilisation, it was, nevertheless, a heartland territory of the society of Gaelic Scotland or *Gàidhealtachd*, a culture which, until its final collapse in 1746, was organised into kin groups or extended families. During the period under consideration, these familial units or kindreds were chiefly known as clans (derived from Gaelic *clann*, which literally means ‘children’), although in earlier and later phases other terms were employed – *cenél* and *dál* were dominant in the preceding era, and *cinneadh* from the seventeenth century. At the core of the clan was the ruling lineage, a family which claimed descent from a common male ancestor or eponym, and from which the chiefs of the clan were usually drawn. Medieval chiefs were at the apex of a non-urban society and non-monetary economy, where commodities were exchanged and rents were paid in kind, and where the kin ethos encouraged sexual promiscuity in the pursuit of furthering the clan interest.¹³

Lying in a humid but wet climate, much of Argyll’s terrain is rough and mountainous and chiefly suitable for rough grazing, which meant that most of the population lived in small, scattered communities living either in the inland straths and glens, or alongside the freshwater lochs and sea lochs (fjords) which plunged into the western coastline. Although scattered, nowhere in Argyll was ever at any point very far from the sea, which made it accessible to the peoples of the Hebrides, the Firth of Clyde basin and across the North Channel, to Ireland (see maps 1 and 2). Historically this means that it was in contact not only with the Irish Gael, but a number of other more significantly different cultural and linguistic groups – in particular the Norse and the Anglophone Scots of the ‘Lowlands’ – who controlled these neighbouring territories at different times during the medieval period.

The name ‘Argyll’ meaning ‘the coastline of the Gael’ was itself a frontier term borne of Norse raiding and colonisation in the ninth century. Between the fifth and ninth centuries the land had formed the core territory of the first Christian Scottish kingdom, the Gaelic kingdom of Dál Riata, whose kings controlled the Atlantic coastline and western islands

¹³ Martin MacGregor, “Clans of the Highlands and Islands: I. to 1609”, in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford, 2001), 93–95; Michael Newton, *Warriors of the Word: The World of the Scottish Highlanders* (Edinburgh, 2009), 124.

of Scotland and who were the chief patrons of the Columban Church. However, in the mid-tenth century the Gaelic royal elite, perhaps under pressure from Norse settlement in the western islands and along the west coast, migrated eastwards into the interior and united with the Pictish kingdoms to form the kingdom of *Scotia*. The territory of old Dál Riata was, as far as they were concerned, a peripheral region and labelled as *Airer Goidel* (anglicised as 'Argyll'), marking a frontier zone with *Innse Gall* 'the islands of the Scandinavians' in the Hebrides, and the later Norse kingdom of Man and the Isles.¹⁴ It is hard to discern Argyll's precise status vis-à-vis the kingdoms of Scotland and the Isles during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; in Norse tradition it was part of the mainland *Skotland*, and it shared the Scottish kingdom's Gaelic culture and speech, but recent investigations of twelfth-century rulers of Argyll – Clann Somhairle (anglicised as *Clan Somerled*) – reveal that they were more routinely involved in the affairs of Man and the Isles than they were with the kings of Scots.¹⁵ This poses questions as to whether we should necessarily understand the emergence of the medieval diocese in the 1100s as part of the ongoing reorganisation of the Scottish Church under the Scottish monarchy, or with the ecclesiastical changes taking place in the episcopal and arch-episcopal spheres within the Irish Sea zone.

Repeated campaigning by the Scots king in Argyll between the 1220s and 1240s brought to an end the quasi-independent status of Argyll and Clann Somhairle, and in 1266 Argyll's 'frontier' status disappeared when the king of Norway resigned sovereignty over the isles to the king of the Scots at Perth.¹⁶ The later thirteenth century witnessed moves to integrate Argyll into the mainstream of Scottish political life as leading chiefs (Clann Dubhghaill (the MacDougalls), Clann Dòmhnail (the MacDonalds) and

¹⁴ Andrew Jennings and Arne Kruse, "One coast – three peoples: names and ethnicity in the Scottish west during the early Viking period", in *Scandinavian Scotland – Twenty Years After*, ed. Alex Woolf (St Andrews, 2009), 75–102.

¹⁵ See Ian Beuermann, "Masters of the Narrow Sea: Forgotten Challenges to Norwegian Rule in Man and the Isles, 1079–1266", *Acta Humaniora* (Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo, 2007); Ian Beuermann, "Metropolitan Ambitions and Politics: Kells-Mellifont and Man and the Isles", *Peritia* 16 (2002), 419–434; R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard c. 1100–c. 1336* (East Linton, 1997); R. Andrew McDonald, *Manx Kingship in its Irish Sea Setting, 1187–1229: King Rognvaldr and the Crovan Dynasty* (Dublin, 2007). For the environmental context to Norse settlement, see Richard Oram and Paul Adderley, "Innse Gall: Culture and environment on a Norse frontier in the Scottish Western Isles", in *The Norwegian Domination and the Norse World*, ed. Steinar Imsen (Trondheim, 2011), 125–143.

¹⁶ For more, see Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pedersen, *Viking Empires* (Cambridge, 2005), 249–255.

Clann Ruairidh (the MacRuairis)) descended from Somhairle (Old Norse *Sumarliði*, anglicised as *Somerled*) journeyed east to sit in parliament and new sherifdoms in Kintyre and Lorn were created by King John Balliol in 1293.¹⁷ More significant, however, were the prominent roles played by leading clans in the wars of independence, not only in fighting English imperialist pretensions over Scotland and Ireland, but also each other in the civil war for the Scottish Crown. These events caused a changing of the guard in Argyll, as Clann Dubhghaill, the greatest territorial lords in the west coast, were forfeited and deprived of their lands for opposing Bruce's kingship and supporting his rivals, the Comyns. Their lands passed instead to the new king's own western friends and supporters, Clann Dòmhnail in Islay and Kintyre and Clann Chaimbeul (the Campbells) in Lochawe, although it was the latter who benefited most from the relationship, having merely been one of a number of landholding kindreds in Mid-Argyll.¹⁸ In any case, it transformed the political and landholding structure in Argyll, laying the foundations for the emergence of the lordship of the Isles (in circa 1336) and the earldom of Argyll (in circa 1458) headed by the chiefs of Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul respectively, the greatest political and military powers in Gaelic Scotland.

Yet even well before Bruce's time, notions of division between Gael and non-Gael of a different hue were already beginning to take shape following the coming of the Normans, and it is these that have since gone on to characterise much of what has been written about Argyll, Gaelic Scotland and the Church. Unlike the rest of the British Isles, the introduction of Anglo-Norman settlement and culture into Scotland appears to have been a peaceful process taking place under the auspices of the native royal monarchy. Acculturation could go both ways and, as had been the case in Ireland, many Anglo-Norman families could become gaelicised through settlement and marriage into the local elite; Clann Fhriseil (the Frasers) and Clann Ghrannnd (the Grants), for example, were of Norman origin, while the members of the Breton Stewart (Gaelicised as *Stiùbhart*) family often founded cadet lineages in those territories of Gaelic Scotland where they established themselves as regional lords. Change may have been very gradual but the net result was that some regions of Scotland, particularly

¹⁷ A.A.M. Duncan and A.L. Brown, "Argyll and the Isles in the earlier middle ages", *PSAS* 90 (1956–1957), 192–222, at 216–218; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm in Scotland*, (1965; Edinburgh, 2005), 73–74.

¹⁸ Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, 218–220, 376–379; Seán Duffy, ed., *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars: the invasions of Ireland 1306–1329* (Stroud, 2002); Boardman, *Campbells*, 36–49.

in the southern and eastern fringes, became increasingly anglicised in their culture and language and estranged from their Gaelic origins. In c. 1245 the Franciscan Bartholomew the Englishman wrote in his encyclopaedia *De Proprietatibus Rerum* how many Scots had abandoned their Irish language and customs and ‘improved’ themselves through intermingling with the English. However,

the wood-dwelling Scots and the Irish take pride in following in the footsteps of their fathers in dress, language, sustenance and other habits. Indeed in a sense they reject the ways of others in preference to their own.¹⁹

This text in turn influenced another anonymous passage found in John of Fordun’s *Chronicle of the Scottish People*, which elaborated upon the linguistic and cultural aspects of the division:

The character of the Scots however varies according to the difference in language. For they have two languages, namely the Scottish language (*lingua Scotica* [i.e. Gaelic]) and the Teutonic language (*lingua Theutonica*). The people who speak the Teutonic language occupy the coastal and lowland regions, while those who speak the Scottish language live in the mountainous regions and outer isles. The coastal people (*maritima gens*) are docile and civilised, trustworthy, long-suffering and courteous, decent in their dress, polite and peaceable, devout in their worship, but always ready to resist injuries threatened by their enemies. The island or mountain people (*insulana sive montana gens*) however are fierce and untameable, uncouth and unpleasant, much given to theft, fond of doing nothing, but their minds are quick to learn and cunning. They are strikingly handsome in appearance, but their clothing is unsightly. They are always hostile and savage not only towards the people and language of England, but also towards their fellow Scots because of the difference in language. They are however loyal and obedient to the king and kingdom, and they are easily made to submit to the laws, if rule is exerted over them.²⁰

The text attached a new geographical dimension by identifying the ‘savage’ Gael with the untamed island and mountain regions and the docile English-speaking Scots with the cultivated plains they lived in. Although new research has shown the passage was probably composed in the late thirteenth century, most historians presumed the author was John of Fordun, a late fourteenth-century churchman and chronicler, whose

¹⁹ Quoted from Martin MacGregor, “Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later Middle Ages”, in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, ‘The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander’? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, eds. D. Broun and M. MacGregor (Glasgow, 2009), 7–48, at 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7. For the modern translation, see Bower, *Scotichronicon*, i, 184–187.

writings coincided with an upsurge in surviving material which point to a growing schism between Gaels and non-Gaels. The picture of increasing polarisation was further reinforced by a succession of Lowland literati who repeated these same sentiments, occasionally with some ferocity, throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. Their observations were accepted at face value as representative of the reality of late medieval Scotland and the emergence of a 'Highland/Lowland divide' which came into being in the second half of the fourteenth century and which has shaped Scottish historiography ever since.²¹

On top of this, a new ethnic or racialist dynamic was added by academics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They depicted the history of the 'Highlands' as a long, hopeless struggle by the 'wild' Gael in the mountain wastes to resist the inexorable march of the superior Saxon or Teutonic civilisation, the written charter, and of the law and order of the Scottish Crown. In this drama Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul played opposing roles; the latter were "the most feudal of Celtic kindreds, basing their expansion on feudal charters, the newly created sheriffdom of Argyll and an aggressive adoption of Lowland ways" in opposition to Clann Dòmhnail, who by contrast, "fostered a renewed, self-conscious pan-Celtic Gaeldom".²² The MicDòmhnail lords of the Isles were the champions of the Gael, providing an alternative court of patronage which allowed traditional Gaelic arts and culture to flourish anew after they had been abandoned by the Scottish monarchy. Although offering peace and security within their own territories, Clann Dòmhnail were aggressive and warlike with external neighbours, and would even lead armies to repel the Crown and its representatives when they felt it necessary, most notably at the Battle of Harlaw in 1411, but also at Inverlochy 20 years later.²³

This traditional picture remains deeply ingrained in popular culture and is still found in general histories, but it has come under sustained attack in a series of recent academic studies over the past few decades which have modified and rebalanced our understanding of lordship and culture in Gaelic Scotland. Not the least of these was Jean Munro's *Acts of the Lords of the Isles*, which demolished the belief that the late medieval

²¹ MacGregor, "Gaelic Barbarity", 8; Dauvit Broun, "Attitudes of *Gall* to *Gaedhel* in Scotland before John of Fordun" in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'?* *Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, eds. D. Broun and M. MacGregor (Glasgow, 2009), 49–82, at 54–55.

²² Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (1991: London, 1998), 67.

²³ For many medieval Scottish historians, the 'defeat' of the Gael at Harlaw was the convenient point at which to end any further discussion of the 'Highlander'.

MicDòmhnail chiefs were unappreciative of the value of literacy, legal process and the written charter.²⁴ Complementing this was the tremendously impressive scholarship of John Bannerman, whose corpus of work illustrated how social mechanisms, particularly kinship and locality, could affect the upper strata of West Highland society. In particular, Bannerman's research into the MacDòmhnail lordship of the Isles, Highland literacy and case studies of particular professional lineages remain of fundamental importance.²⁵ More recently, publications by Willie Gillies and Martin MacGregor have shown how Scottish Gaelic culture enjoyed a significant intellectual and artistic renaissance during the Later Middle Ages while underscoring the important contribution of Clann Chaimbeul as patrons.²⁶ David Sellar and John MacInnes have greatly advanced knowledge of law and the value of oral tradition in the Scottish Highlands, while Wilson McLeod and Aonghas MacCoinnich have challenged whether Gaelic Scotland and Ireland can be viewed as a single culture province.²⁷ In the political sphere, Stephen Boardman's illuminating research of the birth and growth of Clann Chaimbeul has provided a fresh reassessment of its traditional reputation as agents of the Lowland Scottish monarchy, and together with Alison Cathcart's pioneering study of clanship in the Central and Eastern Highlands, has offered new insights into the nature of internal clan governance and lordship in Gaelic Scotland.²⁸ In conjunc-

²⁴ *ALI*, 1–206.

²⁵ *LMMS*, 87–163; Bannerman, "Lordship", 209–240; J. Bannerman, "Literacy in the Highlands", in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, eds. I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 214–235; J.W.M. Bannerman, "The MacLachlans of Kilbride and their Manuscripts", *SS* 21 (1977), 1–34; J.W.M. Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Tradition* (1986: Edinburgh, 1998); J.W.M. Bannerman, "The Scots Language and the Kin-based Society", in *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the languages of Scotland*, ed. D.S. Thomson (Glasgow, 1988), 1–19.

²⁶ W. Gillies, "Some aspects of Campbell History", *TGSI* 50 (1978), 265–278; M. MacGregor, "The View from Fortingall: The Worlds of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*", *SGS* 22 (2006), 35–85; M. MacGregor, "Creation and Compilation: *The Book of the Dean of Lismore* and Literary Culture in Late Medieval Gaelic Scotland", in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, ed. I. Brown, *Volume One: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)*, eds. T.O. Clancy and M. Pittock (Edinburgh, 2007), 209–218.

²⁷ W.D.H. Sellar, "Celtic Law and Scots Law: Survival and Integration", *SS* 29 (1989), 1–27; W.D.H. Sellar, "Marriage, Divorce and Concubinage in Gaelic Scotland", *TGSI* 51 (1978–80), 464–493; Michael Newton, ed., *Dùthchas nan Gàidheal: Selected essays of John MacInnes* (Edinburgh, 2006); W. McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c. 1200–c. 1650* (Oxford, 2004); A. MacCoinnich, "Where and How was Gaelic written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities", *SGS* 24 (2008), 309–356.

²⁸ Boardman, *Campbells*; S.I. Boardman, "Pillars of the Community': Campbell lordship and Architectural Patronage in the Fifteenth Century", in *Lordship and Architecture*

tion with these detailed analyses there also sits a corpus of work led by Allan MacInnes and Robert Dodgshon investigating the broader social and economic facets of clan society and the changes it experienced over the course of the medieval and early modern periods.²⁹ Yet where is the Church in all of this? With the colossal advances made in the political, cultural, social and economic fields of Scots Gaelic history, the religious dimension has remained static, playing at best a subsidiary role or at worst disregarded altogether.

The reluctance to discuss Christianity or the Church in Gaelic Scotland is nothing new. Medieval writers who remarked upon the 'barbarity' of the Scots Gael tend to limit their attacks to the secular sphere, and avoided criticising their religious beliefs or practices. Given that most of the writers were men of the cloth, a class which promulgated the idea that Christian beliefs and civility went hand in hand, the omission appears surprising, but their concern to assert the independence of the Scottish Church and to present the Scots as orthodox Catholics overrode making the 'logical' conclusion that the 'barbarous' Scots Gael was deficient in his Christianity.³⁰ However, twentieth-century historians were less afraid to apply a Highland/Lowland perspective to ecclesiastical issues. Gordon Donaldson and James Kirk both contrasted the apparent difficulties and limited development of the cathedral churches of Argyll and Sodor, which were located well within the Western Scots *Gàidhealtachd* (the Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland), with other cathedral sees which were planted along the Highland/Lowland periphery. The lack of religious houses, schools and hospitals, and the contrasting size of Highland and Lowland parishes, together with the long vacancies in the sees during the sixteenth century, illustrated (for them) the low standards in the Church in

in *Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, eds. R. Oram and G. Stell (Edinburgh, 2005), 123–159; S. Boardman, "The Campbells and charter lordship in medieval Argyll", in *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c. 1200–1500*, eds. S. Boardman and A. Ross (Dublin, 2003), 95–117; A. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship 1451–1609* (Leiden, 2006); A. Cathcart, "Inressyng of kyndnes and renewing off thair blud": The Family, Kinship and Clan Policy in Sixteenth-Century Scottish Gaeldom", in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, eds. E. Ewan and J. Nugent (Aldershot, 2008), 127–138.

²⁹ A.I. MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996); R.A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords. Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493–1820* (Edinburgh, 1988).

³⁰ MacGregor, "Gaelic Barbarity", 35–36.

the Highlands, and the vast differences between Lowland and Highland society.³¹ Ranald Nicholson described how

Most of the region to the west of a line running from Dumbarton to Dornoch was virtually unaffected by the forces that had transformed eastern Scotland. Sheriff courts and justice ayres touched the fringes of this area but did not penetrate it. No burgh was to be found within it. Among the fairly numerous stone castles that guarded the entrances to glens and sea lochs there was as yet scarcely one that belonged to the king. Even the kirk was ill-represented with one small cathedral at Lismore, one abbey at Iona, another at Saddell, a few struggling priories, no friaries and no hospitals. This area, a third of Scotland, had many chapels but not many more than a hundred parish kirks while the remaining two-thirds had almost a thousand. It was a region that looked southward to Gaelic Ireland rather than eastward to the anglicised Lowlands.³²

Donaldson even went so far as to argue that the Church was only of superficial importance in the medieval Highlands:

The facts provide but a slender foundation on which to build the romantic picture of a pious Catholic populace uncontaminated by the reformation. The truth is that the Highlands never had adequate spiritual ministrations until the nineteenth century.³³

The idea that the Highlands was wholly distinct from the Lowlands was employed as a mechanism for avoiding fuller discussion of the medieval Church in the *Gàidhealtachd*, of which few had much detailed knowledge, but the tendency continues to permeate popular scholarship. A recent 'Highland history' by Michael Fry asserts that religion in the Highlands was only "fitfully organised" before the Reformation and that the inhabitants were "no better than pagans".³⁴ Even academics are not immune; for example Ian Cowan drew a contrast in the relationship with Rome, maintaining that the "very remoteness of the Highland dioceses inevitably made contact with the papacy somewhat infrequent".³⁵ Examination of the clergy, the largest and most important class of educated professionals in Scotland, will reveal what differences in organisation, attitude and

³¹ G. Donaldson, *Scotland, Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries* (1960: Edinburgh, 1972), 47; G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History*, (Edinburgh, 1985), 28–29, 199, 230; J. Kirk, "The Jacobean Church 1567–1625", in *The Seventeenth Century in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness, 1986), 24–51, at 24–26.

³² R. Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 25–26.

³³ G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 26.

³⁴ M. Fry, *Wild Scots: four hundred years of Highland History* (London, 2005), 10–11.

³⁵ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 144.

lifestyle the cultural divide actually made, if any. It will also help to demonstrate whether the Church promoted inclusiveness or whether it exacerbated tensions in the culturally and linguistically pluralist kingdom.

THE CHURCH IN ARGYLL

Writings on the medieval Church in Argyll are very scarce, and those few academics who have made comment have tended to be general impressions garnered from West Highland supplications to the papal *Curia*, or from scholars primarily interested in the sociological and cultural elements of medieval Gaelic society. Articles in 1968 by Annie Dunlop and Derick Thomson suggested that clerical illegitimacy seemed more prevalent in Argyll and the Isles than elsewhere in contemporary Scotland, with several churchmen belonging to major local territorial and secular learned kindreds.³⁶ Ian Cowan produced two articles which included an analysis of the foundation and structure of the bishopric and cathedral chapter of Argyll but did not venture much further into the affairs of the wider diocesan clergy.³⁷ The only impressive use of the Vatican material to date remains John Bannerman's definitive examination of the inscriptions on late medieval monumental sculpture in the West Highlands, which helped transform modern understanding of the nomenclature of the papal material.³⁸

Bannerman's labours at the coalface have been developed further by Martin MacGregor, who has examined the close relationship between Gaelic secular culture and learning and the clergy in Gaelic Scotland or *Gàidhealtachd*, while local surveys of Clann Chaimbeul lordship and the Church in Mid-Argyll by Jane Dawson, Donald Meek and James Kirk shed new light upon the importance of education and secular patronage in shaping clerical careers during the Reformation period.³⁹ More recently,

³⁶ A. Dunlop, "Notes on the Church in the Dioceses of Sodor and Argyll", *RSCHS* 16 (1968), 179–184; D. Thomson, "Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland", *SS* 12 (1968), 57–78.

³⁷ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, chaps. 8 and 9.

³⁸ *LMMS*, 97–163.

³⁹ M. MacGregor, "Church and culture in the late medieval Highlands", in *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh, 1998), 1–36; J.E.A. Dawson, "The Protestant Earl and Godly Gael: The Fifth Earl of Argyll [c. 1538–73] and the Scottish Reformation", in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100–c. 1700*, ed. D. Wood (Woodbridge, 1999), 337–363; D. Meek and J. Kirk, "John Carswell, Superintendent of Argyll: a reassessment", *RSCHS* 19 (1977), 1–22; D. Meek, "The Reformation and Gaelic culture: perspectives on patronage,

Andrew Barrell has refocused attention upon the organisation and practices of the Church and clergy in the West Highlands, noting the difficulties faced by the bishops of Argyll and Sodor, and the development of their cathedral chapters, as well as various issues of illegitimacy, hereditary succession and pluralism, for which clergy sought dispensation from the *Curia*.⁴⁰ Yet these studies, while valuable, are hardly voluminous or exhaustive, and considerable scope remains for fuller study. All have contextualised, moreover, the ecclesiastical history of Argyll alongside the neighbouring diocese of the Isles, or Sodor. However, employing a diocesan approach enables us to reach positive conclusions about the Church in Argyll and, potentially, to reveal important differences between it and Sodor.

In addition, because so little has been done at a diocesan level in the Highlands, not much is known about the history of its bishops, or of the quality and quantity of the clergy. As a consequence, most scholars' conclusions are largely tentative and vague. Ian Cowan described possible evidence of structural regeneration and a new vitality in Argyll and the Isles during the sixteenth century, but remained cautious because it was "difficult even to establish a succession of priests in many parishes".⁴¹ John Bannerman was more enthusiastic, arguing that the volume of litigation sent to the *Curia* during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries illustrates that the Church in the MacDòmhnail lordship of the Isles was well supplied with secular clergy who maintained a reasonably high standard of education: "the impression is that society was reasonably well served" by its Church in the century and a half before the Reformation.⁴² However, this positive appraisal is not shared by Nick Bridgeland, whose opinion that the standard of parochial priests in Argyll as a whole was "notoriously

language and literature in John Carswell's translation of "The Book of Common Order", in *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh 1998), 37–62.

⁴⁰ A.D.M. Barrell, "The church in the West Highlands in the late middle ages", *IR* 54:1 (2003), 23–46. See also N. Bridgeland, "The Medieval Church in Argyll", in *The Argyll Book*, ed. D. Omand (2004; Edinburgh, 2006), 85–93. Most recently also J.C. MacDonald, "Iona's Local Associations in Argyll and the Isles, c. 1203–c. 1575", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2010), and S.E. Thomas, "From Rome to 'the ends of the habitable world': the provision of clergy and church buildings in the Hebrides, circa 1266 to circa 1472", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2009).

⁴¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 143, 157.

⁴² Bannerman, "Lordship", 230, 231.

poor” and that the vicars in each parish were generally a “fairly mediocre lot”, has echoes of Gordon Donaldson’s approach.⁴³

Of course, not all of the issues raised by these writers can be investigated here. The terminus of Scotland’s Reformation of 1560 may loom large in the background, but it should be stressed that there is no attempt here to take a ‘Pre-Reformation’ perspective on events, nor does it seek to investigate Argyll’s contribution to these events or the impact of reformers in the Highlands. At the same time, readers should also be aware that the focus upon the clergy does not extend to religious beliefs and devotions of either themselves or the Gaelic laity. Both subject areas are outside the scope of the present work. This monograph purposely explores the medieval institutional Church in Argyll and the diocesan clergy as a subject deserving of study on its own merits. It endeavours to answer some fundamental questions concerning the Church and clergy in Argyll and, where possible, to place them within the wider context of contemporary Britain and Europe. It seeks to enrich our understanding of the Church in the clan society of Gaelic Scotland and to establish a more rounded picture of the clergy who served within it through the evidence which they themselves produced. Uncovering the entire careers of the beneficed clergy, their origins, and their ties to regional magnates, will reveal to what extent networks of political and kin affiliation directed ecclesiastical preferment. The process of doing so affords the opportunity to reveal which ecclesiastical benefices were key strategic targets for regional magnates in Argyll and the central Highlands of Scotland.

Although there are six chapters, the book has two main sections. Chapters 1 and 2 analyse the foundation of the diocese, and explore the development of the cathedral chapter and bishopric throughout the medieval period to the Scottish Reformation of 1560, but with a particular focus upon the structure and development of the chapter of Argyll and the history of the bishops from the late fourteenth century onwards. Special consideration is given to the fifteenth century when the bishops appear to have abandoned their cathedral seat on the isle of Lismore, and an examination of their working relationship with the greater magnates in the diocese. Chapters 1 and 2 provide the historical framework for the later chapters which form a prosopographical analysis of the diocesan clergy. These chapters – 3 to 6 – are self-explanatory, focusing successively

⁴³ Bridgeland, “The Church in Argyll”, 91, 93.

upon their origins, clerical celibacy and illegitimacy, education and the quality of pastoral care. Chapter 3 assesses the composition of the clergy, specifically their geographical and social origins, and highlights the evidence for the importance of locality and the role of magnates in the collation of benefices. Chapter 4 explores the extent of clerical celibacy, concubinage and illegitimacy in the diocese within the context of wider European trends, while chapter 5 examines the educational attainments of diocesan clergy who attended university or were literate in Latin. The final chapter considers the performance of the local Church to fulfil its evangelical mission in the face of the widespread late medieval trends towards absenteeism and pluralism in the western Church, as well as the more peculiar duties and challenges placed upon it by a society inhabiting a mountainous coastal province. Finally, in Appendix A the reader is provided with a parochial *fasti* which lists all of the clergy associated either as incumbents or litigants with parish benefices in the diocese of Argyll between 1342 and 1560.

NOTE ON PAPAL SOURCES

It is difficult to exaggerate just how indispensable the Vatican Archives have become for Scottish (and also Irish) ecclesiastical historians. Michael Haren describes them as “the fundamental source of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical history”.⁴⁴ Before it became freely available, knowledge of the medieval Church in the Highlands was seriously impaired by the loss of the archival material which local bishops and religious houses must have used (and presumably retained) in the course of their operations.⁴⁵ Most of the published papal material used here is from the three registers of the Papal Chancery: the *Registra Vaticana*, the *Registra Avenionensia*, and the *Registra Lateranensia*, which are supplications from, and letters to, clergy seeking some form of papal justice.⁴⁶ These were usually requests for provision to a particular benefice or exemption from various impediments and strictures imposed by canon law, which the pope alone

⁴⁴ M. Haren, “Papal Secretariate and Datary Correspondence Relating to Great Britain and Ireland in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Summary Report of a Survey in the Vatican Archives”, *Analecta Hibernica* 33 (1986), 2–13, at 3.

⁴⁵ G.W.S. Barrow, “The Sources for the History of the Highlands in the Middle Ages”, in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness, 1981), 11–22, at 19–20.

⁴⁶ See L.E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), 103–148.

had power to dispense. The first series is the 20-volume calendar of papal letters concerning Britain and Ireland [*CPL*], the first 14 of which were produced by the Public Record Office in London between 1889 and 1960, before being brought forward again in recent years by the Irish Manuscripts Commission.⁴⁷ Although these volumes cover the entire period between 1198 and 1518, it was only really from the fourteenth-century Avignon papacy of John XXII (1316–1334) onwards that the amount of business transacted at the papal court increased and litigation concerning more lowly parochial benefices began to emerge.⁴⁸ Correspondingly, the Chancery, the office of the *Curia* responsible for writing papal correspondence, underwent major expansion and became increasingly sophisticated.⁴⁹ Successful petitions whose requests had been heard and granted by the papacy were then copied into the *Registra Supplicationum*. Most fourteenth-century petitions from Britain and Ireland are calendared in a single volume (*CPP*) which begins in 1342, and this forms the start date for the analysis of the clergy. Scottish historians also have access to the six-volume calendared series of Scottish supplications to Rome (*CSSR*) which covers the years between 1418 and 1492, as well as Annie Dunlop's calendar of Scottish entries in the Registers of the Apostolic Camera (*ACSB*), or papal treasury, between 1418 and 1488.⁵⁰ There are also calendared papal letters of anti-popes during the Great Schism (*CPL Clement VII*; *CPL Benedict XIII*) which provide valuable material from the *Registra Avenionensia* relating to Scotland from 1378 until the end of the kingdom's adherence in 1418. Hugh Bliss, chief editor of *CPL* and *CPP*, had completely ignored this register.⁵¹ There also exists a substantial corpus of unpublished papal transcripts of petitions taken from the *Registra Supplicationum* which are currently held by the Ross Fund Collection in the University of Glasgow (GUS). These cover the gap in the published sources between 1492 and 1560, but there are also a handful of petitions from the *Registra Avenionensia*.

⁴⁷ The calendar format provides a digest of information of historical value while stripping away the legal formulae of canon law. *CPL*, xv, p. xxxiii. See also pp. xv–xviii for an excellent guide of the procedure of processing a supplication.

⁴⁸ *CPL*, i, covers the period from Innocent III (1198–1216) until Benedict XI (1303–1304). For papal material relating to Scotland before this date, see *Scotia Pontifica: Papal Letters to Scotland before the Pontificate of Innocent III*, ed. R. Somerville (Oxford, 1982).

⁴⁹ F. Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1979), 48–49; D.E.R. Watt, "Sources for Scottish History of the Fourteenth Century in the Archives of the Vatican", *SHR* 32 (1953), 101–122.

⁵⁰ My thanks go to Roland Tanner and James Kirk for permission to cite the unpublished volume of *CSSR*, vi, (1471–1492).

⁵¹ *CPL Clement VII*, p. xxii.

Evidence has also been gathered from volumes of transcriptions of various other papal source materials, specifically those detailing payments made to the Camera and its agents that do not feature in *ACSB*, or which fall outside of its time period.⁵²

⁵² All references to unpublished papal records derive solely from the GUS collection, but adhere to the format of the Vatican Secret Archives. Most of the transcriptions in GUS are calendared, though some only provide the names of the people and benefice that occur in the petition. In addition to *Registra Supplicationum* and *Registra Avenionensia* [*Reg. Suppl. and Reg. Aven. hereafter*], GUS transcripts from the following Vatican collections were consulted: *Archivio Concistoriale, Acta Miscellanea* [*Arch. Concist., Acta Misc.*]; *Camera Apostolica, Annatae* [*Cam. Ap., Annatae*]; *Camera Apostolica, Annatae, Introitus et Exitus* [*Cam. Ap., Annatae, Int. et. Ex.*]; *Camera Apostolica, Collectoriae* [*Cam. Ap., Collect.*]; *Camera Apostolica, Obligationes et Solutiones* [*Cam Ap., Oblig et Sol.*]. Jennifer McDonald generously provided the results of her own extensive research from the *Penitenzieria Apostolica, Registra Matrimonialium et Diversorum* [*Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim et Div.*]. Finally, GUS, Public Record Office, Resignation Series A (1423–1523), and Public Record Office 31/9–30, transcripts, Roman Archives, series 1, were also consulted, together with F. McGurk, “The Papal letters of Benedict XIII concerning Scotland, 1394–1418”, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Glasgow, 1971), ii, appendix B, which provides cameral material from Benedict XIII’s schismatic pontificate between 1395 and 1417.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE BISHOPRIC OF ARGYLL

Opinions regarding the functioning and well-being of the bishops and chapter of Argyll have not been favourable, to say the very least. Historians tend to present the picture of a poverty-stricken see that was unloved by its laity, and which often required the help of outside agencies, specifically the Crown and papacy, in order to sustain its continued existence as a viable entity. The consensus is that the institution never properly flourished, either within a national or even local context.¹ Ian Cowan observed capitular developments in Argyll and Sodor, but beyond this and a listing of the bishops, little further is known of the origins and early organisation of the see.² This chapter investigates the evidence for the origins of the diocese, charting the emergence and development of the see and the cathedral chapter between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries within the context of contemporary ecclesiastical and political events.

PRE-TWELFTH CENTURY ECCLESIASTICAL ARRANGEMENTS

Christianity in Argyll is of very ancient origin. Over the course of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries it was the mainland territory of Dál Riata, a Gaelic-speaking Christian kingdom spanning western Scotland, the Hebrides and north-east Ireland. Dál Riata is credited with a rich seam of sources which have come to define Western Christianity in Britain and Ireland the Early Middle Ages, from Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* to the high religious artwork of the Book of Kells and Lindisfarne Gospels. This is not matched, however, by evidence for the structure and governance of the Church in the region, or even of its sponsors, although it is logical to presume that the jurisdiction of bishops mirrored the territory of the local secular authorities. *The Tripartite Life of Patrick* suggests that the church of Armoy in Antrim, Northern Ireland may have been home to bishops of Dál Riata for a time, but apart from this late ninth-century source there

¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133–138, 140–143; *LMMS*, 52; Barrell, “Church in the West Highlands”, 25.

² Barrell, “Church in the West Highlands”, 27; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 135–138.

are few contemporary indications of the system of Church government.³ Indeed, the political integrity of Dál Riata itself is now being challenged by scholars, with the latest research pointing towards it being a patchwork of distinct, smaller kingdoms composed of various tribes, or *cenéla*, competing for kingship within each realm: Cenél Loairn in Lorn, Cenél Comgaill in Cowal and Cenél nGabrain in Kintyre. Occasionally a king of one might gain sufficient power and dominion over his neighbours and win the high-kingship of Dál Riata itself.⁴ This rivalry influenced the development and growth of the Church, as particular *cenéla* within each kingdom helped to patronise certain churches and ally themselves with its clergy. Amongst the most notable examples of these are the monasteries of Iona, Kingarth and Lismore, the pre-eminent churches of the Cenél nGabrain, Cenél Comgaill and Cenél Loairn respectively. Bishops are recorded as having died at Iona and Kingarth during this period, but there has been a popular convention to designate the appearance of early medieval bishops in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland as ‘in-house’ appointments, subordinate to and eclipsed by the abbot, and with powers limited to the monastic community where they resided and its daughter churches.⁵ We know very little about them or their careers, and it seems myopic to discount the possibility that some may have held territorial secular episcopates, with oversight of a few or all of the *cenéla*, according to the strength of their secular patron at that time.⁶ As the principal churches of the various ruling *cenéla*, Iona Kingarth and Lismore are among the first places one would expect secular bishops serving within Dál Riata. Their apparent obscurity is not a sign of the irrelevance of episcopal government, but a reflection of the bias of monastic writers and their preoccupation with their own affairs.

³ T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (2000: Cambridge, 2004), 58–60; Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789 to 1070* (Edinburgh, 2007), 7–9; *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other documents relating to that saint*, ed. Whitley Stokes, 2 vols. (London, 1887), i, 162–163. *The Tripartite Life* is a composite text, with some additions to content into the later eleventh century. My thanks go to Sarah Erskine for discussing this with me.

⁴ James E. Fraser, “The Three Thirds of Cenél Loairn, 678–733”, in *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies*, eds. Wilson McLeod, Abigail Burnyeat, Domhnaill Uilleam Stiùbhart, Thomas Clancy and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (Ceann Drochaid, 2010), 135–166, at 141–145.

⁵ For an attack on this old idea see Colman Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650–1000* (Maynooth, 1999), 12–46.

⁶ D.E.R. Watt, “Bishops in the Isles before 1203: Bibliography and Biographical Lists”, *IR* 45:2 (1994), 99–119, at 103–105, notes bishops Coeddi (d. 712), Patrick (mid-ninth century) and Fothadh (d. 963) as possibilities associated with Iona. See also Woolf, *Pictland to Alba, 200–201*; James E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh, 2009), 83.

Of course, of the churches of Dál Riata it is the star of Iona which shines brightest, and with its rich array of sources and its association with St Columba (Gaelic Colum Cille) it has become an iconic symbol of Christianity in the Gaelic world, and has eclipsed the religious significance of other pre-eminent churches such as Lismore in the Early Middle Ages. Yet Lismore was hugely important, being closely tied with one of the earliest and most important Christian saints in Northern Britain: Mo Luóc, or Moluag (a hypocoristic form of the Irish name *Lugaid*). The *Annals of Ulster* record the death of Mo Luóc on the island in AD 592 and the obits of abbots of Lismore are recorded in Irish annals in circa AD 611 and circa AD 637.⁷ It is difficult to be certain of the annalistic entries after this date because of the foundation of another monastery named “Les Mòr” (Lismore Mo-Chutu) in County Waterford, Ireland, in circa AD 638.⁸ However, some entries must relate to the Scottish monastery, and James Fraser has reconstructed a plausible succession which reveals a further eight Lismore abbots, terminating in AD 781.⁹ The attention given to Lismore by Irish annalists during this period can be partly explained by growing power of the kings of Cenél Loairn, but it may also reflect Lismore’s possible status as a daughter house of Bangor Abbey in north-eastern Ulster, although this rests largely on the genealogical descent which Mo Luóc and his elder colleague St Comgall, founder of Bangor, both shared.¹⁰ In any case, Lismore probably remained connected with the Irish scene in the ninth century, and the entry of “Moluóc the pure, fair, sun of Lismore of Alba” in the Irish Martyrology of Óengus the *Céle Dé* of circa AD 828–833 attests that continuing reverence for the saint’s cult in Ireland remained closely linked with the island itself.¹¹

Unfortunately, what little knowledge we have about either the ecclesiastical or political landscape of Argyll begins to peter out with the advent of Viking raiding in the later eighth and early ninth centuries and the resultant breakdown of communication with Ireland and our Irish sources.

⁷ MRHS, 50.

⁸ A. MacDonald, “Two major early monasteries of Scottish Dalriata: Lismore and Eigg”, *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5 (1973), 47–70, at 49; Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland*, 99 and n. 2.

⁹ Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland*, 105, 372, and nn. 71, 73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 105, 252.

¹¹ Penelope Dransart, “Saints, stones and shrines: the cults of Sts Moluag and Gerardine in Pictland”, in *Celtic Hagiography and Saints’ Cults*, ed. Jane Cartwright (Cardiff, 2003), 232–248, at 234; Pádraig Ó Riain, “The martyrology of Óengus: the transmission of the text”, *Studia Hibernica* 31 (2000–2001), 221–242.

There are, however, scraps which enable us to build a historical narrative. We do know that the Viking incursions and the arrival of large numbers of Norse settlers in the islands of Dál Riata appear to have accelerated the disintegration of the tribal kingdom as a politically viable entity. This led to a division in the west between the *Airer Goidel* 'Coastline of the Gael' on the mainland and *Innse Gall* 'Islands of the Foreigners' in the Hebrides. The process by which Scandinavian settlers were converted to Christianity during the tenth and early eleventh centuries is still vague, but the continuing succession of abbots at Iona and the occasional record of bishops who died there could suggest less disruption than might be first supposed; certainly the local Church must have been in a pretty robust state to survive in the altered climate.¹² By the mid-900s, the Hebrides formed part of the wider Scandinavian *Uí Ímair* imperium which dominated the Isle of Man and the surrounding territories of the Irish Sea zone, including Dublin, north-western England and western Scotland.¹³ This eventually led to the emergence of the *Gall-Ghàidheil* (the 'foreign Gaelic-speaker'), Scandinavians who were Gaelic in speech, that helped forge the later kingdom of the Isles. Some would appear to have occupied the Firth of Clyde area and parts of southern Argyll, possibly including the Cowal and Kintyre peninsulas.¹⁴

During the 840s, ruling *cenéla* appear to have ventured eastwards across the great central massif of Drumalbane to settle in the kingdom of Pictavia, which was the forerunner of the later Gaelic kingdom of *Alba*, known in English as *Scotland*.¹⁵ By the eleventh century, the major kindreds were associated with specific provinces: Moray was associated with Cenél Loairn, Angus with Cenél nOengusa, Strathearn and Menteith with Cenél Comgaill, and Gowrie, Atholl and Fife with Cenél nGabráin.¹⁶ The

¹² Watt, "Bishops", 102–105; Andrew Jennings, "Iona and the Vikings: Survival and Continuity", *Northern Studies* 33 (1998), 377–354; Woolf, *Pictland to Alba*, 201. For more on the conversion see Lesley Abrams, "Conversion and the Church in the Hebrides in the Viking Age: 'A Very Difficult Thing Indeed'", in *West Over Sea: Studies in Scandinavian Sea-Borne Expansion and Settlement Before 1300. A Festschrift in Honour of Dr Barbara E. Crawford*, eds. Beverly Ballin Smith, Simon Taylor and Gareth Williams (Leiden, 2007), 169–193.

¹³ Alex Woolf, "The Age of Sea-Kings: 900–1300", in *The Argyll Book*, ed. D. Omand (2004; Edinburgh, 2006), 94–109, at 95, 97.

¹⁴ Jennings and Kruse, "One coast – three peoples", 88–98. Thomas Owen Clancy, "The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway", *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 2 (2008), 19–50, at 30 and n. 6, 31, 4, 440; Woolf, *Pictland to Alba*, 297. Note should be made of the discovery in 2011 of a tenth-century 'Viking' boat burial in Ardnamurchan, allegedly the first of its kind on the western mainland.

¹⁵ Woolf, "Sea-Kings", 94–95, 97–98.

¹⁶ Woolf, *Pictland to Alba*, 227–228 and n. 11, 341.

shared Christian beliefs of Gaels and Picts eased the process of assimilation, and historians have highlighted in particular the translation of the relics of St Columba from Iona Abbey to a daughter house at Dunkeld in circa AD 849 as a key event smoothing the Gaelic takeover of the kingdom of Pictavia and signalling the establishment of Dunkeld as the chief Columban centre in Scotland.¹⁷ There are also fragmentary indications that major religious churches dedicated to Mo Luóc at Rosemarkie in Ross and Bláán at Dunblane in Menteith also originated during this period, and it could be that parallel translations of some (or all?) of these saints' relics were brought by some immigrant members of the Cenél Loairn and Cenél Comgaill from the churches of Lismore and Kingarth in their ancestral homelands to these new foundations.¹⁸ Though Dunblane's status remains obscure, by the late ninth century the church of Dunkeld, and quite possibly Rosemarkie too, were established as the first episcopal centres for bishops serving the kingdoms of *Alba* and *Muréb* (Moray) respectively.¹⁹

Events from the mid-900s to the east and west would thus appear to have diminished the wider political and religious status of Argyll in Northern Britain, and during the next 300 years darkness envelops the region, with almost no historical events "securely located within Argyll".²⁰ The surviving sources from this period give the impression that Argyll was seemingly at the periphery of everywhere and the centre of nowhere, contested and carved up by neighbouring rival kings and lacking any autonomy of its own. However, there are signs of political and religious continuity. A "rump" of Dál Riata ruled by remaining leaders of the Cenél Loairn and the Cenél Comgaill probably continued to wield power in Lorn and Cowal during the later ninth and early tenth centuries, although it is unclear whether they were independent or semi-autonomous.²¹ Surviving graves, crosses and religious sculpture found at numerous later medieval parish church and chapel sites across Argyll demonstrate that organised Christianity

¹⁷ Ibid., 98–102.

¹⁸ Alex Woolf, "The Cult of Moluag, the See of Mortlach and Church Organisation in Northern Scotland in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", in *Fil suil nglais – A Grey Eye Looks Back: A Festschrift for Colm O'Baoill*, eds. Sharon Arthbutnot and Kaarina Hollo (Brig o' Turk, 2007), 311–322, at 312, 317; James E. Fraser, "Strangers on the Clyde: Cenél Comgaill, Clyde Rock and the bishops of Kingarth", *IR* 56:2 (2005), 102–120, at 112.

¹⁹ Woolf, "Cult of Moluag", 318–320.

²⁰ Woolf, "Sea-Kings", 95.

²¹ Ibid., 98. The survival of the name Cenél Baitán in Morvern suggests this region may also have retained some localised power. See Fraser, "Three Thirds of Cenél Loairn", 146–159.

continued to operate between the ninth and eleventh centuries,²² but again we know virtually nothing of its functioning, its structure or its personnel.²³ The fragmented political situation would have had profound implications for any hypothetical bishopric, for in pre-Norman Scotland, as in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, territorial bishoprics were established on the basis of one bishop per kingdom, where the bishop was perceived to be the king's spiritual counterpart.²⁴ Without any evidence of a strong local ruler it is difficult to imagine that a separate bishopric serving Argyll could have survived, although fleeting appearances of bishops at Iona suggest the continued functioning (and recognition) of episcopal oversight.²⁵ Lorn and Cowal at least would appear to have been loosely incorporated into wider *Alba*, and probably subordinate to the neighbouring rulers to the east and north who claimed descent from the chief *cenéla* of Dál Riata.²⁶ If so, one might conclude from this that any senior representatives of the Church active in these locales were probably also subordinate.

The evidence for this shadowy period is slender to say the least, but we should also envisage that bishops from neighbouring kingdoms probably competed for jurisdiction over Argyll. In the west, the Scandinavian bishops of the Isles, whose diocese was effectively co-extensive with the *Uí Ímair* kingdom, may have been able to exercise authority over the clergy and laity in the adjoining mainland of Kintyre and possibly Glenelg, which were controlled by the *Uí Ímair* at various times.²⁷ In the eastern interior

²² For sculpture datable to between the ninth and eleventh centuries see Ian Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh, 2001), 4, 10, 14, 118, 120, 144–145, 145–147, 148, 149, 150. Fisher's survey finds no less than 18 of Argyll's 48 later medieval parish church sites and ten chapel sites are possessed of some form of Christian religious or funerary sculpture.

²³ However, see Thomas Owen Clancy, "Annat in Scotland and the Origins of the Parish", *IR* 46:2 (1995), 91–115.

²⁴ Woolf, "Cult of Moluag", 316; Alex Woolf, "The Diocese of the Sudreяр", in *Ecclesia Nidrosiensis 1153–1537: søkelys på Niaroskirkens og Nidarosprovinsens historie*, ed. Steinar Imsen (Trondheim, 2003), 171–181, at 175.

²⁵ See above, n. 6.

²⁶ An echo of this earlier structure may be found in the twelfth-century lawcodes of David I, where separate arrangements were made between "Argyll which belongs to Moray" and "Argyll which belongs to Scotia", and which Alice Taylor argues may preserve more ancient responsibilities. Argyll of "Moray" was assigned to the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Inverness, while Argyll of "Scotia" was allocated to the Earl of Atholl or the Abbot of Glen Dochart. Cowal and Kintyre were also treated independently, being assigned to the jurisdiction of the Earl of Menteith. Alice Taylor, "Leges Scocie and the Lawcodes of David I, William the Lion and Alexander II", *SHR* 88 (2009), 207–288, at 224–225, 280.

²⁷ See above, p. 22; R. Andrew McDonald, *Manx Kingship in its Irish Sea Setting, 1187–1229: King Rǫgnvaldr and the Crovan Dynasty* (Dublin, 2007), 114, 121–122. The bishops

the territorial bishoprics of Moray and Alba similarly formed the pastoral wing of the kingdoms of Moray and Alba, whose rulers claimed ancestral rights to control portions of Argyll, and it is probably here that we have the kernel of the fifteenth-century tradition that episcopal authority over Argyll had previously pertained to the bishops of Dunkeld. Such an earlier piecemeal scenario would also explain why the bishops of Sodor, Moray and also Dunblane were each called in to act as temporary administrators of the see of Argyll during episcopal vacancies during the thirteenth century.²⁸ Alasdair Ross has recently claimed that Argyll's northern parishes of Glenelg, Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Moray in the early twelfth century, which suggests these ancestral rights could still have been effective.²⁹ Indeed, if, as seems likely, the orbit of secular rulers was a chief determinant of the old territorial bishoprics, then the original claims may have been greater.³⁰ Whether the neighbouring bishops were willing and able to exercise their jurisdiction with any regularity is unknown, and there is no trace of them. Any that did were probably peripatetic, visiting the principal churches in each region to carry out ordinations and confirmations.³¹ The fundamental point to appreciate here is that a diocesan episcopacy was not a form of Church governance alien to the people of Argyll before the twelfth century and the emergence of the diocese.

THE BISHOPRIC OF ARGYLL IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY³²

Pinning down a date for the see's foundation has proved tremendously difficult for historians. Scholars have traditionally fixed the diocese's foundation to 1183–1192, based in part on an account of the see's foundation in the *Scotichronicon*, a mid-fifteenth-century chronicle written by Walter

of the Isles may have similarly provided episcopal services to Galloway region before the re-emergence of the see of Whithorn in 1128. *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis*, series VI, Britannia etc., I, Ecclesia Scoticana, ed. D.E.R. Watt (Stuttgart, 1991), 20.

²⁸ Woolf, "Sudreyar", 178.

²⁹ A.D. Ross, "The Province of Moray, c. 1000–1230", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 2 vols. (University of Aberdeen, 2003), 15–18.

³⁰ Ross (ibid., 16 and n. 52, 26) suggests that "Argyll of Moray" extended from Glenelg to Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig, which matches with the boundaries of the earldom of Moray stated in 1312.

³¹ Woolf, "Sudreyar", 180. See also Woolf, "Cult of Moluag", 316, for the possibility of *Chorepiscopi* – suffragans that performed episcopal duties on behalf of the territorial or 'diocesan' bishop. However, the evidence for them is slim in Scotland.

³² I am indebted to Andrew Barrell for sharing his thoughts in the following discussion.

Bower, the Abbot of Inchcolm, and more specifically upon the appearance of the diocese in several papal documents dating to the late twelfth century. Together they have tended to restrict discussion of the circumstances of the see's foundation to this period. Closer inspection does, however, cast serious doubt on this.

Bower's account tells us that the whole of Argyll, an "extensive and spacious region", had long been subject to the bishops of Dunkeld until the reign of Bishop John "called Scot" (1182 × 1183–1203). Bishop John did not know the "Scottish or Irish Gaelic tongue" of Argyll and was both unable and unwilling to provide pastoral care to the "ferocious and savage people" who lived there. He therefore sent his chaplain, Harald, "who was knowledgeable and skilful in both languages" to Rome with a letter humbly requesting the pope to divide the diocese into two and to consecrate the chaplain as bishop of Argyll. The pope granted John's request and appointed Harald to the bishopric of Argyll.³³

This account soon gained widespread acceptance, and there are certainly aspects to recommend it. It correctly identifies Harald as the first known bishop of Argyll, and the episcopate of John the Scot did indeed coincide with the first appearance of the bishopric of Argyll in contemporary record.³⁴ As we have seen, the unification of the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms in the mid-800s supports the tradition that the bishopric of Dunkeld possessed some ecclesiastical jurisdiction over some of mainland Argyll. Bower also probably gained much of his biographical information from a *vita* of Bishop John by William Bening, prior of Newbattle, written after the bishop's death.³⁵

Yet there are also numerous inconsistencies and conceptual problems. Some aspects of John the Scot's early career are incorrect,³⁶ and it is doubtful that Harald was bishop during John's lifetime or even the first bishop of Argyll.³⁷ The account fails to provide a political context, presenting it simply as a pastoral decision by the bishop of Dunkeld, but even from an episcopal perspective it would have been unusual for a bishop

³³ *Scotichronicon*, iii, 372–373, 386–391; *Fasti*, 123.

³⁴ The story is repeated in the early sixteenth century. Alexander Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum* (Bannatyne Club, 1831), 8.

³⁵ *Scotichronicon*, iii, 478.

³⁶ Bower's statement that John the Scot was earlier archdeacon of St Andrews is confused with a later bishop of Dunkeld, John de Leicester (1211–1214), who was previously archdeacon of Lothian in St Andrews diocese. *Scotichronicon*, iii, 373; *Fasti*, 124, 393, 400.

³⁷ John the Scot died in 1203, but the first evidence for Harald's tenure as bishop does not occur until December 1225. *Fasti*, 123; *Series Episcoporum*, 12–13.

to willingly relieve himself of a large part of his diocese in the manner which Bower suggests. One might have expected a major change like this to have attracted some contemporary comment or controversy, but nothing exists to indicate this, either in Rome or in Scotland. As the editors of *Scotichronicon* note, the general tone seems rather to be divorced from the actual events of the twelfth century and from the motives of the parties involved, and “probably owes much to Bower’s own ideas of how and why such a development could have taken place”.³⁸ The account is really a product of fifteenth-century accepted wisdom and its prejudices. The suggestion that the diocese of Argyll was created to resolve ethnolinguistic tensions between the bishop of Dunkeld and the Gaels of Argyll is patently untrue, as Gaelic was the vernacular for much of Dunkeld’s population until well into the nineteenth century.³⁹ Bower was actually using the story to criticise the present influx of Lowland, non-Gaelic speaking clergy into Argyll during the 1440s, for the diocese had become a hotbed for complaints to Rome against clergy who could not speak the Gaelic tongue of their parishioners.⁴⁰ His Lowland, and predominantly clerical, audience would have understood the point he was making, even if subsequent historians have missed it. Similarly, Bower’s portrayal of the saintly John the Scot bears little relation to what we know of the historical character, but the tale of a humble prelate conscientiously halving his diocese served as a mechanism to upbraid the behaviour of “richer” bishops of his own day and their “exceptionally fat benefices”. The foundation story should not be dismissed completely, for it probably reveals some underlying truths of Argyll’s old ecclesiastical ties with Dunkeld,⁴¹ but as an account of the diocese’s foundation it cannot be taken at face value.

Likewise, we cannot rely too heavily upon the evidence of contemporary papal documents, which were written for specific purposes and can be of uncertain date. Scotland was in regular contact with the Roman court throughout the twelfth century, largely as a consequence of the

³⁸ *Scotichronicon*, iii, 478.

³⁹ Robert Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, ed. M. Russel (Edinburgh, 1824), 285.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 86–90; Beuermann, “Masters of the Narrow Sea”, 170; Iain G. MacDonald, “‘That uncouth dialect’: English-speaking clergy in late medieval Gaelic Scotland” (forthcoming).

⁴¹ See *Scotichronicon*, ix, 23, where one of Bower’s lists of Scottish bishoprics names the bishoprics of Argyll (*Ergadiensis*) and Sodor or Man (*Sodorensis sive Mannie*) separately from another named *Ysmorensis sive Insularum* that is ‘Lismore or of the Isles’. Could this suggest confusion over Lismore’s island status vis-à-vis the diocese of Sodor?

efforts of successive kings of Scots to secure the independence of their bishops from the claims of the English archbishops of York. The struggle culminated in Clement III's famous bull *Cum universi* of March 1189 or March 1192, which defined the "Scottish church" (*Scotticana ecclesia*) as a "special daughter" of the pope and freed it from subjection to York.⁴² There is no mention of a diocese of Argyll in *Cum universi* or any other papal correspondence until it suddenly appears in *Liber Censuum*, a document conventionally dated to April 1192 × March 1193. Here the "bishopric of Argyll" (*episcopatus de Aregarthel*) is named in a list of Scottish bishoprics which were directly dependent upon the Roman Church.⁴³ One might conclude from this that the diocese was established at some point between *Cum universi* and *Liber Censuum*, in 1189 × 1193 or thereabouts, or perhaps that its omission from *Cum universi* may simply reflect the lengthy legal procedures involved in the establishment of the diocese.⁴⁴ However, the bishopric of Argyll is still missing from reissues of *Cum universi* made in 1200 and 1218. This could be attributed to the habit of papal scribes to copy from lists of bishoprics found in earlier bulls, and indeed it is possible that this also explains Argyll's omission from *Cum universi* itself.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, all this presupposes that a bishopric of Argyll would have been included in the letter if it had already existed, which is by no means certain. *Cum universi* was directly addressed to the king of Scots and was written with the express purpose of securing the immunity of the bishoprics within his "kingdom of Scotland" (*regnum Scotie*), but it is

⁴² Somerville, *Scotia Pontifica*, 142–143. A.D.M. Barrell, "The background to *Cum universi*: Scoto-papal relations, 1159–1192", *IR* 46:2 (1995), 116–138, argues persuasively for an 1189 date.

⁴³ *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, eds. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1889–1952), i, 232. It is also mentioned in two lists of Scottish sees compiled by Albinus, probably in c. 1200, in the *provinciale* of his *Eglogarum Digesta Pauperis Scholaris*. *Le Liber Censuum* ii, 101 (*episcopus de Arrigaithel*), 106 (*episcopus de Arrigaithel*). See Somerville, *Scotia Pontifica*, 142–143, 144, 164.

⁴⁴ Barrell, "*Cum universi*", 133–136. See also A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 276, who interprets Argyll's absence in the context of the fraught relationship between King William (1165–1214) and Bishop John the Scot of Dunkeld, and ventures that the diocese was *sub iudice* at the time of *Cum universi*, perhaps because Bishop John was struggling to reverse the act creating the diocese at the papal court. Conversely, Cowan (*Medieval Church*, 135) argued that its absence demonstrated royal opposition to the see's foundation. See also *Series Episcoporum*, 11–13; McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*, 212.

⁴⁵ For speculation as to the possible exemplar for the list of bishoprics in *Cum universi*, see Somerville, *Scotia Pontifica*, 164–165. However, the latest surviving papal list before *Cum universi* is in a bull of 1162, which was itself an anachronistic copy of an earlier 1155 list. *Ibid.*, 40–41, 51–52.

uncertain if this necessarily included Argyll or its likely episcopal seat on the island of Lismore.⁴⁶ There is no question that William King of Scots aspired to control Argyll, but whether he would have wanted to include it within the terms of *Cum universi* is debatable, particularly if, as seems likely, the diocese was founded and controlled by political enemies of the Scottish kings. Indeed, it is not until after the military campaigns of King Alexander II of Scotland in Argyll between the 1220s and 1240s that we can begin to say with some confidence that the province was being drawn into the kingdom of Scotland. The surviving contemporary documentary evidence from *Scotia* itself is ambiguous, but place-name evidence in Argyll suggests their inhabitants are unlikely to have perceived themselves as part of *Scotia* or as Scots until the mid-thirteenth century at the earliest.⁴⁷ In the absence of absolute proof, speculation can only take us so far. The overriding point to appreciate is that Argyll's omission from *Cum universi* does not guarantee us anything one way or the other.

Liber Censuum is also problematic. It was a working text of religious institutions which paid revenue to the papacy and purposefully included blank spaces for anticipated updating. One cannot discount the possibility that the entry for Argyll was added in the years immediately after 1192/93.⁴⁸ Neither is this document free from error; the diocese of Galloway, for example, is listed alongside the rest of the other Scottish sees as immediately subject to the pope (*qui est domine pape*) even though it was omitted from *Cum universi* and directly subject to the metropolitan see of York.

The circumstances surrounding the creation and recording of both these documents are sufficiently vague as to cast serious doubt on the value of papal material for establishing the foundation of the diocese. When considered with Bower's account, these sources can only really tell us that by the late twelfth century a bishopric in Argyll had become significantly prominent to warrant the attention of the papacy and the powerful neighbouring bishop. They are of questionable value beyond that. They cannot tell us why nor when the diocese came into being, or whether there were earlier antecedents stretching back before the twelfth century.

⁴⁶ See above, pp. 6–7, 23–24, 37–38.

⁴⁷ Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain* (Edinburgh, 2007), 7, 11, 72; Dauvit Broun, "Defining Scotland and the Scots before the Wars of Independence", in *Image and Identity: the Making and Remaking of Scotland through the Ages*, eds. D. Broun, R. Finlay and M. Lynch (Edinburgh, 1998), 4–17, at 6, 7, 8, 12.

⁴⁸ Barrell, "*Cum universi*", 135. Argyll is placed last on the list of Scottish bishoprics.

Freeing ourselves from the restraints imposed by Bower and *Liber Censuum* provides an opportunity to look afresh at the likely motives and circumstances of the see's formation. On the premise that local secular control was necessary for the establishment of a local episcopal authority, the bishopric's origins should be found in the political sphere, more specifically either in the career of Somhairle mac Ghille-Brìghde, who emerged as *regulus* or king of Argyll (*Rí Airer Goidel*) in the 1130s or 1140s, or in his kindred, Clann Somhairle, who dominated affairs in Argyll and the Isles for centuries thereafter.⁴⁹

Whether Somhairle was directly responsible for the foundation of a new see is difficult to answer. The only surviving trace of his involvement in religious affairs was his dramatic but fruitless attempt to re-establish Iona Abbey as the main centre of the Columban family of churches shortly before his death in 1164. In this year, Somhairle and the "Men of the Airthir-Gaedhel and of Insi-Gall" invited Flaithbertach Ó Brolchán, abbot of Derry and successor (*comarb*) of Columba in Ireland, to assume the abbacy of Iona.⁵⁰ It is conceivable that a new diocesan see was founded as the pastoral wing of Somhairle's kingdom of Argyll, perhaps in the 1140s and 1150s, when most diocesan reorganisation was taking place across Northern Britain and by which time he had established full regional supremacy.⁵¹ The fact that there is no record for bishops designated 'of Argyll' in this period is not necessarily an insuperable barrier as few bishoprics in Northern Britain had an established record of episcopal succession, even in the early twelfth century.⁵² It is, however, less easy

⁴⁹ For more on Somhairle and his origins, see McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*, 39–67; Alex Woolf, "The origins and ancestry of Somerled: Gofraid mac Fergusa and 'The Annals of the Four Masters'", *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 15 (2005), 199–213.

⁵⁰ *Annals of Ulster*, ed. W.M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, 4 vols. (1887–1901), ii, 145. The plan, which was blocked by both the archbishop of Armagh and the local Irish king, was progressive and ambitious. Abbot Flaithbertach had only recently begun a major rebuilding programme of Derry Abbey and as head of the Columban group of monasteries was, together with the archbishop of Armagh, a leading figure of the reform movement which aimed at bringing the Irish Church into line with Western Christendom. Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (1988: Dublin, 1996), 108–114, 120. For a contrary opinion see McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*, 205–206, 221.

⁵¹ Forte, Oram and Pedersen, *Viking Empires*, 243; Woolf, "Sea-Kings", 102–103. Following years of opposition, Somhairle was reconciled with Malcolm IV at Perth in Christmas 1160. It was probably this ceremony that was the origin of the epithet 'sit-by-the-king' given to Somhairle a few years later. W.D.H. Sellar, "Somerled (d. 1164)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com [accessed 27 October 2011].

⁵² Richard Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070–1230* (Edinburgh, 2011), 330–331.

to explain the absence of any trace in either Gaelic oral tradition or later genealogical histories of a suggestion that Somhairle established an episcopal see in Argyll. The omission is all the more glaring as he is credited, wrongly it would appear, with the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Saddell in Kintyre.

It might be more realistic to envisage the formation of Argyll as a longer-term and gradual process, and not attributable to any one individual. In this regard, it could have been a by-product of the protracted political breakdown of the kingdom of the Isles – and with it the old bishopric of the Isles – between the 1150s and 1180s. The process of fragmentation had already begun by 1158 when Somhairle had successfully driven Guðrøðr [Godred] King of Man into exile and had wrested control of much of the Hebrides before his death in 1164. Although Guðrøðr returned to Man in 1165, Somhairle's son Ragnall [Ranald] appears to have retained regional supremacy over the inner Hebrides, until defeat in battle to his brother Aonghas [Angus] forced him to drop the title of *Rex Insularum* ('King of the Isles') in circa 1192. This infighting amongst Clann Somhairle helped the resurgence of the Manx kingdom under Guðrøðr's son Rognvaldr, who succeeded his father in 1187. Woolf suggests that the first bishop of Argyll was probably originally a bishop of Sodor whom clergy loyal to Ragnall – perhaps those of Lismore – had elected in circa 1186. He further proposes that following Ragnall's fall from power, Rognvaldr secured a replacement and Ragnall's bishop, perhaps the aforementioned Harald or some unknown predecessor, was instead granted authority by the papacy to act as bishop over the territories of Clann Somhairle, which were located principally on the mainland of Argyll.⁵³

The accession of Rognvaldr does appear to herald an important phase in the ecclesiastical affairs of Sodor. At some point between 1188 and 1190 Rognvaldr reconfirmed the privileges of Furness Abbey in Cumbria to elect the bishops of the Isles, and shortly afterwards appears to have secured the election of Michael, a Manxman and Cistercian monk of Furness, even though the incumbent, Bishop Cristinus, was still alive.⁵⁴ The insecurity over electoral rights almost certainly implies that there had been some

⁵³ Woolf, "Sudreyar", 175, 177, 180. These individuals both occur as *Reginaldus* in the sources, but I have used Rognvaldr and Ragnall here to avoid any confusion.

⁵⁴ *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, eds. J.C. Atkinson and J. Brownbill, 2 vols. in 6 parts (Manchester, 1886–1919), vol. ii, part iii, 711; Beuermann, "Masters of the Narrow Sea", 183–186.

contention over this right during the previous three decades of Clann Somhairle ascendancy.

The only bishop active during that period was the obscure Bishop Cristinus, the solitary record of whom is an entry in the Chronicle of Man. This states that “Cristinus” succeeded one Ragnald as bishop, that he was a native of Argyll (*archadiensis genere*) and that he was buried in Bangor Abbey in Ulster.⁵⁵ Cristinus, or Gaelic Gille-Chriost, was probably appointed under the influence of Somhairle or his sons, and had served as bishop for at least 20 years between circa 1170 and the early 1190s – though it may have been closer to 30 years if (as one suspects) his predecessor Bishop Ragnald followed King Guðrøðr into exile.⁵⁶ Several writers have speculated that he was identical with a contemporary Cristinus, bishop of Whithorn, but these speculations have been effectively demolished by Ian Beuermann.⁵⁷ That Gille-Chriost was listed among the bishops in the Chronicle of Man suggests he was accepted by the monks of Rushen Abbey (the likely compilers), but this aside there is nothing to suggest he was closely tied to Man. Given the evident desire of Clann Somhairle and their chiefs to establish an ecclesiastical centre in their own region, it is reasonable to assume that his episcopate witnessed a reorientation of the bishopric towards their own territories further north. Leading chiefs of Argyll and the Isles had supported Somhairle’s efforts to rejuvenate Iona, so it was probably anticipated – and perhaps requested – that Clann Somhairle would exploit the opportunity to promote the interests of the Church and clergy and appoint a loyal and local individual who would shift the focus to nearer home.

It is tempting to suggest that Bishop Gille-Chriost may have been elected by the clergy of Lismore itself, perhaps at the behest of the Argyll and Hebridean chiefs, to be bishop over their territories. The existence of an earlier proto-bishop would go some way to explaining the casual manner in which the diocese of Argyll makes an appearance in papal record without any fanfare in the 1190s. However, one cannot make too much of

⁵⁵ *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*, ed. George Broderick (1979; Douglas, 1999) fol. 50v. See also *ibid.*, fol. 51r for references to *erchadiensis* used to represent ‘Argyll’.

⁵⁶ *Chronica Regum Manniae et Insularum: The Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, ed. P.A. Munch (Christiania, 1860), 139–140; Beuermann, “Masters of the Narrow Sea”, 186; Watt, “Bishops”, 118. The continued presence of Bishop Ragnald in Norway would help explain why Bishop Gille-Chriost did not receive acknowledgement from Sodor’s metropolitan, the archbishop of Niðaróss (Nidaros).

⁵⁷ Beuermann, “Masters of the Narrow Sea”, 181, and n. 213, 182–184.

Gille-Chriost's background, for other bishops of Sodor, such as Nicholas (1203 × 1210–1217) and Simon (1226–1248) shared his Argyll origins or (in Nicholas's case) were buried at Bangor.⁵⁸ Nor can we be entirely sure of Lismore either; it is not until December 1225 and a reference to the bishop of Lismore (*episcopus Lesmoriensis*) that a direct identification with the diocese of Argyll is made.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, while the evidence for Gille-Chriost's shadowy episcopate may be slender, there are strong grounds for arguing that Lismore was a religious centre of local significance throughout the period between the ninth and twelfth centuries.

LISMORE

The suggested translation of Mo Luóc's corporeal relics to Rosemarkie in the mid-ninth century (if one accepts it did occur) would have been a severe blow to the spiritual prestige of Lismore, just as bad, if not worse, than the loss of Columba's relics was to Iona. Yet there are signs that Lismore continued to function as one of several older premier churches in the Isles, like Snizort on Skye and Kingarth on Bute, as a regional centre which bishops of the Isles periodically visited to perform various religious duties.⁶⁰ For example, *De partitione Anglie per comitatus et domibus religiosus in eis contentis*, a medieval catalogue of religious sites in Lothian and Scotia dating to 1191 × 1200, lists the bishopric of Argyll (*Episcopatus de Argiul*) among the Scottish cathedrals associated with the *céli Dé* (*Keledei*) or 'servants of God'.⁶¹ This implies the presence of a *céli Dé* community on Lismore at around the time of the first surviving reference to the bishopric. It is also supported by the survival of the early Irish *apadaine*, meaning abbey-lands in the modern place-name of the adjacent coastland of 'Appin', which identified lands associated with other post-Viking religious communities.⁶² This suggests an ecclesiastical community of considerable size and local significance, and indeed there is some fragmentary evidence which may indicate that the *familia* of Columba at Iona were

⁵⁸ *Fasti*, 259–260; Woolf, "Sudreyar", 177, 178.

⁵⁹ *Pais. Reg.*, 320.

⁶⁰ Woolf, "Sudreyar", 175, 180. See also Fraser, "Strangers on the Clyde", 102–120.

⁶¹ *Early Sources of Scottish History 500 to 1286 [ES]*, ed. A.O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922), ii, 700; W. Reeves, *On the Céli-dé, commonly called Culdees* (Dublin, 1864), 150; *Series Episcoporum*, 12. K. Veitch, "The Scottish material in *De domibus religiosus*: date and provenance", *IR* 47:1 (1996), 14–23. See also G.W.S. Barrow, "De domibus religiosus: a note on Dornoch", *IR* 48:1 (1997), 83–84.

⁶² A. MacDonald, "Lismore and Eigg", 50, 66, n. 12; *CPNS*, 124.

laying claims to superiority over the church of Lismore in the ninth century or later.⁶³ Certainly, the name of the first recorded dean of Lismore, “Gillemoluoc” (servant of Mo Luóc) at Lismore in 1240, together with the surviving evidence as to the early composition of the cathedral clergy, suggests continuity from an earlier community.⁶⁴ From this one can be tentatively positive that the church of Lismore was still playing an active and prominent role in the local religious affairs of the western seaboard after the Viking incursions and well before the erection of the diocesan see. Although unrecorded until the sixteenth century, it is also possible that some associative relics, in particular the bell of Mo Luóc and his staff, the *Bachull Mòr* (‘Great Staff’, see fig. 6) were in existence and gave the local veneration of his cult a renewed focus.⁶⁵

In an age where real ecclesiastical power was expressed through the *vitae sanctorum*, the church of Lismore would have benefitted from any upsurge of interest in their patron saint and there are tantalising fragments of hagiographical evidence which indicate the rejuvenation of the cult of Mo Luóc during the twelfth century. Mo Luóc (“Luanus”) makes a prominent appearance as one of the disciples of St Comgall’s monastery of Bangor in St Bernard’s *Life of Malachy*, where he is described as having per-

⁶³ Alan MacQuarrie, “The Offices for St Columba (9 June) and St Adomnan (23 September) in the Aberdeen Breviary” *IR* 51:1 (2000), 1–39, at 14, 38, n. 2.

⁶⁴ *Fasti*, 39; see below, pp. 43, 54–56. The saint’s cult doubtless ensured that *Gillemoluoc* was a common name in Lismore. Yet it invites the possibility that the dean was a *céle Dé* himself. The *gille* prefix, meaning ‘servant’, was identical to the older term *céle*, but became more commonly used from AD 1000 onwards. W.J. Watson, “Personal Names: The Influence of the Saints”, *TGSI* 32 (1925), 220–247, at 224, 226.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 235; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, p. 21; J. Anderson, “The architecturally shaped shrines and other reliquaries of the early Celtic Church in Scotland and Ireland”, *PSAS* 44 (1909–1910), 274–275; *OPS*, 2:1, 163. The staff and its asserted custodians – Clann Dhuinnshlèibhe – may themselves be of eleventh-century origin. Although the *Bachull Mòr* is difficult to date, it has been suggested that it and other Scottish crosiers derived from an eleventh- and twelfth-century Northern Irish tradition, perhaps due to occasional migration of artisans. Several Argyll kindreds claimed descent from an Irish prince who arrived in Argyll in the eleventh century, including Clann Suibhne (Sween) of Knapdale, and David Sellar has shown that the Argyllshire kindred named MacDhuinnshlèibhe was an offshoot of this clan. It is, coincidentally, interesting that the separate MicDhuinnshlèibhe kings of the Ulaid and Dálaraide appear as patrons of Bangor Abbey in the twelfth century, Lismore’s alleged mother-church. Is it possible the MicDhuinnshlèibhe custodians of the *Bachull Mòr* tried to exploit some traditional connection between these churches? Perette E. Michelli, “Four Scottish crosiers and their relation to the Irish tradition”, *PSAS* 116 (1986), 372–392, at 376 and 389; Ruth Johnson, “On the Dating of some Early-medieval Irish Crosiers”, *Medieval Archaeology* 44 (2000), 115–158, at 139; W.D.H. Sellar, “Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale”, *SS* 15 (1971), 21–37; Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*, ed. Gerard O’Brien (Dublin, 1992), 202.

sonally founded 100 monasteries.⁶⁶ This may imply that some lost account or *vita* of the saint was then in circulation. Further support for this occurs in the *Life of Patrick* by the Cistercian monk Jocelin of Furness written in circa 1185, where Mo Luóc (“Lugacius”) is described for the first time as a territorial bishop. He is named as one of six Irish priests whom Patrick prophesised would become bishops, although Jocelin pointedly refused to identify their bishoprics because the “uncouth barbarousness” of their names would “occasion disgust or horror to cultivated ears”.⁶⁷ Although these are only snippets of information, they do suggest that a cult of Mo Luóc as bishop, was enjoying some popularity by the mid-twelfth century. Bernard’s decision to highlight Mo Luóc was probably tied to the recent incorporation of the Sauvignac monastery of Rushen in Man into the Cistercian order in 1148, for the parish in which the abbey was located was dedicated to Mo Luóc (as “Malew”).⁶⁸ Although a Cistercian himself, Jocelin’s interest may have been of a more professional nature: he may be identical with Jocelin of Pennington, abbot of Furness in the early 1180s, or with Jocelin abbot of Rushen in Man, who witnessed King Rǫgnvaldr’s important confirmation in 1188 × 1190 of the right of Furness Abbey to elect the bishops of Sodor; in either case he clearly connected with Furness.⁶⁹ Jocelin’s unwillingness to identify the bishoprics associated with the six bishops might be dismissed as another example of the anti-Gaelic grandstanding typical of Anglo-Norman clergy, but it could also support our

⁶⁶ *St Bernard of Clairvaux’s Life of St Malachy of Armagh*, ed. H.J. Lawlor (London, 1920), 28.

⁶⁷ The five other priests were “Columbanus (Colmán), Meldanus (Mellán), Lugadius (Mo Lua), Cassanus (Cassán) and Ceranus (Ciarán)”. Sarah Christine Erskine, “The Relic Cult of St Patrick between the Seventh and the Late Twelfth Centuries in its European Contexts: A Focus on the Lives”, unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2012), 180, 181; *The Life and Acts of Patrick by Jocelin*, chap. 93, in “The Project Gutenberg eBook, The Most Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick, by Various”, ed. James O’Leary, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18482/18482-h/18482-h.htm#chap6001> [accessed 12 October 2011]; Helen Birkett, *The Saints’ Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge, 2010), 4–7.

⁶⁸ Woolf, “Cult of Moluag”, 311. Lawlor (*Life of Malachy*, p. lxxv) suggests the *vita* was written in January 1149. The office of Mo Luóc in the early sixteenth-century Aberdeen Breviary associated the saint with Melrose Abbey. Mo Luóc, having initially failed at Lismore, fled to the abbey of “Meloros” and observed their rule before being directed by the abbot to return to the island, following which he laboured successfully. Melrose Abbey was re-founded as a Cistercian monastery in 1136 and is named in Bernard’s *Life of Malachy*, 69. Could the common root for this story be the lost *vita*? Alan MacQuarrie, “Moluag (d. 592),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com [accessed 4 July 2012].

A.P. Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints with personal notices of those of Alba, Laudonia, and Strathclyde* (Edinburgh, 1872), 410; Dransart, “Saints, stones and shrines”, 234–236.

⁶⁹ Birkett, *Jocelin of Furness*, 14 and n. 69.

idea that Furness had long-standing insecurities over its electoral powers when under hegemony of Clann Somhairle and, perhaps, an awareness of troubles brewing on the horizon.

We do not know much about the episcopal succession or the sequence of events during this period, but it seems most likely that at some point between the 1150s and 1180s Clann Somhairle capitalised on the cult of Mo Luóc to promote Lismore as an episcopal centre for Argyll and, perhaps, the Hebrides. In Caithness the cathedral site of Dornoch was chosen because of the strong tradition of ecclesiastical activity there before the twelfth century, including a possible *céli Dé* community, and a vigorous cult of St Fionnbarr or Barr.⁷⁰ Scottish communities of *céli Dé* at Brechin, St Andrews and possibly Dunkeld were transformed into cathedral chapters as part of a wider evolution within the secular Church.⁷¹ Although some opposed changes,⁷² examination of their role in Ireland demonstrates that the *céli Dé* supported the concept of a territorial episcopate, and there is no reason to think that this was not the case in Lismore also.⁷³ Argyll and Hebridean chiefs may have encouraged them to elect a bishop themselves, perhaps Gille-Chriost or more likely an unnamed individual in the 1190s. It was probably only during this time that diocesan boundaries began to take shape and the recognisable diocese 'of Argyll' began to materialise.

It is harder to explain the creation of the see as a royal initiative. It may have simply been official recognition that the king was unable to exercise any meaningful royal authority over the region, though the possibility that the Crown may have envisaged potential benefits which would accrue to it should not be dismissed completely. Theoretically, the creation of a new

⁷⁰ G.W.S. Barrow, "*De domibus religiosis*", 83–84.

⁷¹ A.O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*, (London, 1908), 328; *MRHS*, 47, 203–205, 210–212; *Series Episcoporum*, 12, 15, n. 14; *Fasti*, 57, 132; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), chap. 7; I.B. Cowan, "The Post-Columban Church", *RSCHS* 18 (1974), 245–260.

⁷² Cynthia J. Neville, "Native Lords and the Church in Thirteenth-Century Strathearn, Scotland", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53:3 (2002), 454–475, at 473–475.

⁷³ The *céli Dé* were prominent adherents of the eighth-century *Riagail Phátraic*, which maintained that "there should be a chief bishop (*prím espoc*) in each chief territory (*prím tíath*)". Thomas Owen Clancy, "Iona, Scotland and the *Céli Dé*", in *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Aberdeen, 1996), 111–130, at 122–23; Reeves, *Céli-dé*, 213. Alex Woolf, "Sudreyar", 180, has suggested that the clergy of Lismore, dissatisfied with the distant chapter at Peel, actually decided themselves to elect their own bishop, and cites the failed attempt of the clergy of Snizort on Skye to do the same in 1331 as another example of local dissatisfaction.

diocese in the west offered the potential for the installation of a friendly bishop that could provide a means of placing a royal foothold in the region. However, the name of the first recorded bishop 'of Argyll', Harald, suggests an ecclesiastic of Norwegian rather than Scottish origin.⁷⁴

David I is traditionally credited with initiating the ecclesiastical reforms which would transform the diocesan map of Scotland; Aildred of Rievaulx, for instance, noted that David found only three or four bishops when he became king, but left behind him nine bishops and founded many monasteries.⁷⁵ He was also active in trying to establish his kingdom with its own archbishopric. At the time of the synod of Kells in 1152 David I met its papal legate to propose that the sees of Orkney and Sodor be made subordinate to St Andrews which would then be raised to metropolitan status, a move which incidentally may have helped prompt Óláfr, King of Man and the Isles to submit Sodor to the new metropolitan see of Niðaróss.⁷⁶ Three surviving royal charters illustrate that David also had clear ambitions to annexe Argyll into the Scottish kingdom. In 1141 × 1147 he granted the canons of Holyrood Abbey the rights to half the *teind* (tithe) or his *cáin* (tribute) of Kintyre and of Argyll (*Kentyr et de Errogeil*); in 1145 × 1153 he granted "the tenth part of the king's *cáin* of Argyll of Moray (*Ergaithel de Muref*) and of the king's pleas and revenues from that Argyll" to Urquhart Priory. In a later grant to Dunfermline Abbey in 1150 × 1152 the king awarded the other half of *teind* and *cáin* of Kintyre and of Argyll (*Ergaithel et de Kentir*) with the caveat "in whatever year I should receive it".⁷⁷ As Woolf has argued, this suggests that whatever limited control David had exercised in Argyll during his reign was precarious and had probably been lost to Somhairle sometime between 1141 and 1152, a state of affairs which endured throughout the reign of his successor, Malcolm IV.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, David displayed more interest in Argyll than his son King William the Lion, whose chief interest in the affairs of the western seaboard was with clipping the wings of a burgeoning Stewart lordship

⁷⁴ Woolf, "Sudreyar", 175, speculates that Harald was sent from Niðaróss to administer the Isles before the papacy intervened to make him bishop of the new diocese of Argyll.

⁷⁵ Benjamin Hudson, "Gaelic Princes and Gregorian Reform", in *Irish Sea Studies, 900–1200* (Dublin, 2006), 212–229, at 215.

⁷⁶ D.E.R. Watt, *Medieval Church Councils in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2000), chap. 2, especially 18; Beuermann, "Metropolitan Ambitions", 419–434.

⁷⁷ *Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153*, ed. Archibald C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), nos. 153, 209, 255; *RRS*, i, 40–41; Ross, "Province of Moray", i, 16.

⁷⁸ Woolf, "Sea-Kings", 102.

in the Firth of Clyde region.⁷⁹ It is highly unlikely that Lismore would have been the favoured choice of Scots kings; it lay in the heart of Clann Somhairle territory and was even more distant from their own sphere of influence. The Crown would have been far more likely to plant a bishopric at the seat of sheriffs or ideally a royal burgh close to or directly under their power (such as Dumbarton), “so that both the civil and ecclesiastical government should have the same focus”.⁸⁰ It was not until the reign of Alexander II that the bishopric of Argyll was used as a pretext for establishing greater royal control in the west.⁸¹

Despite the problems with Walter Bower’s story (namely his failure to provide a proper political context and his own linguistic and ethnic prejudices) his basic premise – that the see was created to remedy the geographical problems inherent in an overlarge diocese – is from an ecclesiastical perspective, perfectly sound. To what extent this diocese was Dunkeld, Moray or the Isles is, in the absence of conclusive evidence, difficult to answer, but it seems most likely that it was a mixture of all of them. The fact that the churches of Kingarth and Rothesay on Bute contributed a quarter of their revenues to the bishop of the Isles, which was the customary proportion of the bishop of Argyll, may suggest that the island lay at one time within the diocese of Argyll; certainly it indicates a more fluid local organisation at this time.⁸² In either case, local feeling in Argyll would probably have been the same. From a local ecclesiastical perspective the parochial clergy in Argyll were doubtless also unhappy with the current state of affairs that saw parochial revenues going to support a distant bishop and chapter that could not adequately minister to their needs. This would also still be true even if some areas of Argyll pertained to the bishops of the Isles, as it too was experiencing political and ecclesiastical disintegration as a consequence of its huge size.⁸³ In the wider ecclesiastical context, the creation of a separate diocese with

⁷⁹ N. Murray, “Swerving from the Path of Justice: Alexander II’s Relations with Argyll and the Western Isles, 1214–1249”, in *The Reign of Alexander II*, ed. R. Oram (Leiden, 2005), 285–305, at 285–286, 288, 290.

⁸⁰ Gordon Donaldson, “Scottish bishops’ sees before the reign of David I”, *PSAS* 87 (1952–1953), 106–117, at 112.

⁸¹ Alexander II’s expeditions to suppress rebellion in Argyll in 1249 and Galloway in 1235 both coincided with changes to the local Church. “For Alexander, religious patronage and personal piety may have been investments to be cashed in for political considerations”. R. Oram, “Introduction: An Overview of the Reign of Alexander II”, in *The Reign of Alexander II*, 1–47, at 44.

⁸² *Parishes*, 112, 174.

⁸³ Woolf, “Sudreyar”, 174–177.

its own bishop and administration would be absolutely imperative if the Church in Argyll was to experience the reforms aimed at improving religious leadership and pastoral care that were being implemented throughout the western European Church at this time. In such circumstances, it is difficult to envisage that the bishops of Dunkeld or Moray would actively resist calls from Clann Somhairle for a change to the ecclesiastical settlement.

The creation of the diocese of Argyll is probably largely attributable to a desire on the part of the powerful local nobility and clergy to obtain official recognition of the local ecclesiastical power and prestige that in reality already belonged to them. The existence of a diocesan see with its associated offices provided Clann Somhairle with a means of cementing their control over the local church, its revenues and its lands over the mainland territories, but also a means whereby both the papacy and the Crown officially recognised their own legitimacy as lords. This is something to be borne in mind, especially when we discuss later the chronic poverty of the bishops and descriptions of the material state of their cathedral church on the isle of Lismore in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

THE EARLY CATHEDRAL AND CHAPTER

Yet while its holy credentials are unquestionable, Lismore was, as Mo Luóc evidently believed, chiefly suitable for a coenobitical lifestyle; it seems an inappropriate home for an institution charged with engaging with and providing pastoral government to the scattered secular communities of Argyll. Although the island was fairly central in a geographical sense, most of the parish churches and, by implication, most of the population it was intended to serve, lay further south in Mid-Argyll, Cowal and Kintyre.⁸⁴ Historically, individuals from Cowal had been accustomed to taking their ecclesiastical business to nearby Kingarth, so they must have felt short-changed that they had to make the arduous journey to Lismore. Additionally, its location in the mouth of Loch Linnhe meant travellers to the island would be frequently exposed to the rough and potentially treacherous weather of Scotland's Atlantic coast.⁸⁵ These problems were

⁸⁴ See map 3. See also the distribution map of West Highland funerary sculpture in *LMMS*, 3.

⁸⁵ The island parish churches of Inishail, Eilean Fhionain and possibly Eilean Munde were probably chosen for their early religious sanctity. *RCAHMS Argyll*, ii, no. 247; *LMMS*,

highlighted in a papal mandate of 1249 to the bishops of Dunblane and Glasgow, which noted that Lismore was “almost inaccessible from the stormy channel, across which the people could not pass without danger” and permitted the transfer of the see to a more convenient location.⁸⁶ This was probably an allusion to the drowning of Bishop William of Argyll off the coast of Kerrera in 1241.⁸⁷ While there was undoubtedly a political subtext to the request there are no grounds to doubt that its claims were legitimate and it remained a recurring theme even in the sixteenth century.⁸⁸

Religious antecedence would suggest the monastery of St Mo Luóc was the chosen location for the new cathedral and Aidan MacDonald has tentatively identified the enclosure around it as evidence of an earlier val-lum as found at other early medieval monasteries of Irish type, including Iona.⁸⁹ An excavation carried out in the 1950s indicated that the medieval cathedral was planned along the simplest of lines, with an aisle-less choir and nave, and a small tower (see fig. 1). Measuring 38 metres internally in length, approximately 7.2 metres in breadth, and about 7.5 metres (or 25 feet) in height, Brown and Duncan described it as a “great barn-like building, roughly built, mostly unsquared stone”.⁹⁰ The size and structure of Lismore cathedral was not inferior in comparison with neighbouring ‘Highland’ cathedrals; it was “perhaps larger” than Dornoch Cathedral in Caithness (constructed 1239), and Fortrose Cathedral in Ross (constructed in 1249) also had a long aisle-less choir. It was, however, smaller than Iona Abbey which, in its reconstructed fifteenth-century form, measured

74–75; Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture*, 85–86; C. Bourke, “Handbells of the Early Scottish Church”, *PSAS* 113 (1983), 464–468, at 467.

⁸⁶ W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, 3 vols. (1876–1880: Edinburgh, 1886–1890), ii, 410; *Vet. Mon.*, 52, no. 140.

⁸⁷ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson (Bannatyne Club, 1835), 154, and *Scotichronicon*, v, 174–175, state that Bishop William drowned at sea. I. Carmichael, *Lismore in Alba* (Perth, 1948?), 90, maintains that he drowned near the isle of Kerrera (near modern Oban). Certainly, crossing the Firth of Lorn from Oban is considerably longer and more dangerous than from Appin.

⁸⁸ For the political context, see Duncan and Brown, “Argyll and the Isles”, 208–210; W.D.H. Sellar, “Hebridean Sea Kings: The Successors of Somerled, 1164–1316”, in *Alba: Celtic Scotland*, 187–218, at 204–205.

⁸⁹ There is also surviving material and place-name evidence for stone crosses in the vicinity of the cathedral. This adhered to the Irish practice of decorating the monastic enclosure with free-standing crosses. MacDonald, “Lismore and Eigg”, 53–57.

⁹⁰ RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, no. 267; A.L. Brown and A.A.M. Duncan, “The Cathedral Church of Lismore”, *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society* 15, part i (1957), 41–50, at 46, 49.

44.8 metres in length by 6.7 to 6.9 metres in breadth and over 10.7 metres high, and also had north and south transepts, which Lismore lacked.⁹¹ However, Lismore was still easily the biggest secular church in the West Highlands and was considerably larger than Sodor's cathedral of Snizort in Skye.⁹² Only the choir, lowered and reduced from its medieval height, now survives (see fig. 2), making stylistic comparisons very difficult, although Duncan and Brown argued that it shared closer similarities with lesser Irish cathedrals, such as Leighlin Cathedral in County Carlow.⁹³ The ruinous vestiges of another Clann Somhairle foundation, the Cistercian abbey of Saddell in Kintyre, a daughter house of Mellifont in County Louth, Ireland, also indicate an affinity with Irish Romanesque work of the later twelfth century, but there appears to be nothing surviving at Lismore dating to this period.⁹⁴

Though local tradition assigns the completion of the cathedral to the episcopate of Bishop Màrtainn of Argyll [Martin "de Ergaill"] (1342–1382 × 1387), documentary and archaeological evidence both point to a completion date in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.⁹⁵ The first historical reference to the cathedral's existence occurs in 1314, and the architecture of the surviving piscina and sedilia has also been attributed to the early fourteenth century.⁹⁶ Further supporting evidence may be found in one of the six mason's marks that survive which bears a striking resemblance to one of the three found at the MacDubhghaill (MacDougall) castle of Achadun on Lismore (see fig. 3), which was probably constructed in the late thirteenth century, and in existence by 1304.⁹⁷ Work on the cathedral doubtless took place during this period when the lay patrons were commissioning work on the island.

⁹¹ Ibid., iv, no. 4.

⁹² This was approximately 23 metres in length and 5.3 metres wide. Thomas, "From Rome", 229.

⁹³ Brown and Duncan, "Cathedral Church of Lismore", 50; R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches: architecture and furnishings*, (Stroud, 2002), 35, 137; *Atlas*, 370–373.

⁹⁴ A.L. Brown, "The Cistercian Abbey of Saddell, Kintyre", *IR* 20:2 (1969), 130–137, at 131; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, i, no. 296.

⁹⁵ Carmichael, *Lismore in Alba*, 93.

⁹⁶ *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine: Registrum Ecclesie B.V. Marie et S. Anne infra Muros Civitatis Glasguensis* MDXLIX: accedunt munimenta fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu/ domus Dominicane apud Glasguenses carte que supersunt MCCXLIV–MDLIX, ed. J. Robertson (Maitland Club, 1846), 153; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, no. 267.

⁹⁷ Coeffin Castle, which is much closer to the cathedral, was probably constructed around the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, nos. 277, 282; Dennis Turner, "The Bishops of Argyll and the Castle of Achanduin, Lismore, AD 1180–1343", *PSAS* 128 (1998), 645–652, at 649–651.

On the other hand, architectural remains leave the door open for an earlier phase of construction, and it is possible that a substantial amount of work may have been already completed by the mid-thirteenth century.⁹⁸ This coincides with the first appearance of the MicDubhghaill lords of Argyll as benefactors of the see in 1240, and they presumably helped to fund the construction.⁹⁹ If Lismore Cathedral was built around this time then it was a remarkable phase of church-building in Lorn, as the MicDubhghaill lords were already devoting their energies to the building of two other ecclesiastical foundations during the mid-1200s. Donnchadh [Duncan] mac Dhuhghaill, Lord of Argyll had founded the Valliscaulian priory of Ardchattan on the northern shore of Loch Etive in 1230, as well as the richly decorated chapel adjacent to the lord's stronghold at Dunstaffnage, which dates to the period 1225–1250.¹⁰⁰ It is unclear whether this work was undertaken simultaneously, but if it was, then the outlay would have been considerable, even for the lords of Argyll.

As well as the cathedral church itself, accommodation would also have to have been arranged for the bishop and members of the chapter. The only documentary proof for any ecclesiastical residence on Lismore in the Middle Ages is a single reference to Achadun Castle in the mid-fifteenth century, but this was probably a recent gift from Clann Dubhghaill.¹⁰¹ Canons generally were expected to maintain a canonical house or manse near the cathedral and we know that this rule was enforced elsewhere in the kingdom.¹⁰² How strictly this rule applied in Argyll is dependent upon the number of chapter members who were actually resident for a time during the year. None of the few archaeological surveys of the cathedral site has found conclusive evidence for the existence of domestic dwellings for the cathedral clergy in its precincts, but something surely existed as residence was obligatory for the dignitaries who performed special duties in the cathedral and who were responsible for serving the spiritual needs of the laity (the *cura animarum* or 'cure of souls').¹⁰³

In terms of organisation, the late medieval cathedral chapter of Argyll was similar to other Scottish dioceses. The chapter was a corporation

⁹⁸ Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches*, 35, 137.

⁹⁹ Duncan and Brown "Argyll and the Isles", 211, appendix. iv, 219.

¹⁰⁰ *Scotichronicon*, v, 145; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, nos. 217, 243; *MRHS*, 83.

¹⁰¹ Turner, "Bishops of Argyll", 649–651.

¹⁰² *Statutes*, 12, 68. Alexander Myln repeatedly laid stress upon the importance of the upkeep of manses by the canons. *Rentale Dunkeldense*, ed. R.K. Hannay (SHS, 1915), 320–330.

¹⁰³ Brown and Duncan, "Cathedral Church of Lismore", 49.

of secular canons, and its principal members or dignitaries – dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer – all appear at various periods in the historical record.¹⁰⁴ These four dignitaries were common to all Scottish secular cathedrals and also to Argyll's close neighbour Sodor, although they do not appear there until the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁵ In addition to the major dignitaries there were also three lesser dignitaries which appear in various Scottish dioceses – the subdean, the subchantor and the sacrist. Most of the dioceses had one or two of these offices, where the diverse range of duties expected of the major dignitaries necessitated the creation of deputies to act as proxies.¹⁰⁶ There are none documented in Argyll or Caithness, which may be attributable to a lack of demand for them, though the appearance of the subdeanery in Sodor would suggest that they are simply unrecorded.¹⁰⁷ The chapter of Argyll which appears in the later fourteenth century, while modest in size, would seem perfectly orthodox as a corporate body.

What then of the earlier period? There are very few references to any kind of capitular organisation before the later fourteenth century, but the first evidence of a chapter occurs relatively early, in a gift by Eòghan [Ewen] MacDubhghaill of Argyll to William, bishop of Argyll, at Lismore on 22 May 1240. The witness list indicates the composition of the chapter:

Testibus domino Cristino, archdiacono Ergadense; domino Gillemoluoc decano de Lesmor, et toto capitulo; domino Daniele officiali Ergadense; domino Maluine decano de Glassered; domino Iohanne decano de Lorn; domino Gillecund decano de Kyntire; Therthelnac Makdouenald, Gillecolm Makgillemichell, Dunedall Makgilascop, Kennach Makgillemichell, Giliso Macmollrenni, et multis aliis.¹⁰⁸

The term “*toto capitulo*” or “whole chapter” seems unambiguous and clearly means that some sort of chapter was already in existence before

¹⁰⁴ The only exceptions were the chapters of St Andrews and Whithorn, which were composed of regular canons.

¹⁰⁵ Possibly after a reconstitution of the Sodor chapter in the early 1500s. *Fasti*, 269–270. See Iain G. MacDonald, “The Church in Gaelic Scotland before the Reformation”, in *Celtic Christianities: adapting and interpreting the faith in Celtic Britain and Ireland, 1450–1750*, eds. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁶ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 79.

¹⁰⁷ *Reg. Suppl.*, 2667, fol. 299.

¹⁰⁸ Punctuation is silently added. Duncan and Brown, “Argyll and the Isles”, 211, appendix 4, 219; see also *RMS*, ii, no. 3136, where it is misdated to 1251. The “dean and chapter of Lismore” in a petition of 1203 doubtless refers to the Irish diocese of that name, which is explicitly referred to in the petition which immediately follows it. *CPL*, i, 15.

this date, but whether it was a proper collegiate chapter is doubtful.¹⁰⁹ The dean of Lismore, the official of Argyll and three rural deans (Glassary, Lorn and Kintyre) may have constituted this ‘chapter’, which perhaps also have included the five undesignated individuals named after them – two were named “Makgillemichell” [MacGille-Mhicheil, anglicised as *MacGillemichael* and later as *Carmichael*], which was the surname of two dignitaries in the later fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century cathedral chapter.¹¹⁰ Cowan and Donald Watt both argued that the placing of the archdeacon first in the list illustrated that the dean here was of an earlier type in Scotland who were of lesser status than the archdeacon, and not comparable in terms of authority with the later fourteenth-century dean of Argyll.¹¹¹ Equally obvious too, however, is the careful differentiation made between Lismore and Argyll – the dean is specifically named as ‘of Lismore’ while the archdeacon and official represent the wider diocese ‘of Argyll’. In the late fourteenth century there was still confusion surrounding the dean’s status: while one petition of 1391 described the office as the “greatest” dignity after the bishop, it contradicted an earlier petition in 1388 which expressly stated that the deanery was “a dignity with cure, but not the greatest after that of the bishop”.¹¹² There is no escaping the fact that the various incumbent archdeacons of Argyll were of a consistently higher social status than the deans throughout the later medieval period, which would appear to suggest that the archdeaconry was regarded as the greater office in the diocese.¹¹³

The evidence would support the notion that the chapter in 1240 was of synodal character. This meant that at the election of a new bishop, the rural deans of Christianity, such as those named above, would have represented the clergy of the diocese in each of their various deaneries, while the dean of Lismore represented the cathedral clergy. Together the cathedral and parochial clergy would elect the new bishop.¹¹⁴ A similar system prevailed in the late medieval Irish dioceses of Meath, Tir briuin (later Kilmore), and Connor in Armagh province. In the latter diocese in

¹⁰⁹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 136.

¹¹⁰ See below, pp. 54–56.

¹¹¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 136; *Fasti*, 38.

¹¹² *Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 44r–44v; 78, fols. 143r–43v.

¹¹³ See below, pp. 56–59.

¹¹⁴ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 136.

1390 it was still asserted that “the clergy of the city and diocese” customarily elected the bishop, because the church had “no chapter”.¹¹⁵

As a ‘special daughter’ of the papacy it is not surprising that the election of Scottish bishops was often the subject of papal commissions. This was also the case in Argyll, although it is plain from papal correspondence that there were problems surrounding the election of bishops to the see in the mid-thirteenth century. In a papal letter of July 1236, Gregory IX (1227–1241) requested Andrew, bishop of Moray, to ensure that a new bishop of Argyll be canonically elected, and followed this with a further order in February 1239 to the bishops of Moray, Ross and Caithness that they examine the postulation of the chosen candidate, William (chancellor of Moray 1230–1239 × 1240) and to consecrate him if it be found canonical.¹¹⁶ This was standard practice. William’s episcopate was cut short by his death in 1241, yet no new bishop was elected in his place, and for another seven years the see was of *sede vacante* status.¹¹⁷ On 23 December 1248 Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) wrote to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane, bidding them to cancel uncanonical elections to the see of Argyll and to appoint and consecrate a bishop to the see if the canons of Argyll failed to elect a fit person within a prescribed fixed time.¹¹⁸ The uncanonical election referred to was probably that of “master Johannes”, rector of “St Bean major” (Kilmore) in Lorn, who appears fleetingly as bishop-elect on 21 May 1244, when a papal mandate was issued to investigate his election.¹¹⁹ The later statement of 1248 that the see lay vacant for seven years (i.e. since 1241) confirms that he was never regarded as bishop, at least not by Alexander II and the other bishops. McDonald has speculated that Eòghan MacDubhghaill, Lord of Argyll, had exploited the vacancy to appropriate the episcopal revenues for himself, and that it was this that prompted the temporary appointment of the Dominican Clement, bishop of Dunblane, to the see of Argyll in c. 1247, followed by the papal commission in 1248.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 37–38; K.W. Nicholls, “Mediaeval Irish Cathedral Chapters”, *Archivum Hibernicum* 31 (1973), 102–211, at 103. *CPL*, iv, 336.

¹¹⁶ *ES*, ii, 501, n. 8; *Fasti*, 34, 278, 294.

¹¹⁷ Dowden, *Bishops*, 378; *Fasti*, 34.

¹¹⁸ *Vet. Mon.*, 52, no. 139; *ES*, 529, n. 3; Dowden, *Bishops*, 378.

¹¹⁹ *Vet. Mon.*, 42, no. 149.

¹²⁰ In 1247 a charter to Inchaffray Abbey was appended with the seal of Clement, bishop of Dunblane, “tempore hujus collationis curam episcopatus Argadie optinentis”. *Charters, Bulls and other Documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray*, eds. W.A. Lindsay, J. Dowden, and J.M. Thomson (SHS, 1908), 65; *Fasti*, 35; McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*, 213.

However, the disputed 1244 election demonstrates there had been local efforts to fill the vacancy.

In any case, Bishop Clement's involvement proved significant on several levels, for as well as initiating a tradition of appointing Dominicans to the bishopric, it also resulted in some positive reorganisation of the chapter, and a canon of Argyll appears shortly afterwards in 1250.¹²¹ Irrespective of his status vis-à-vis the archdeaconry, the appearance of an unnamed dean "of Argyll" not only presiding over the chapter "of Argyll" (*Ergadiensis*) in the episcopal election of Bishop Laurence in 1262 × 1264, but also acting as its proctor to the papal court, demonstrates that the first appearance of a dean with full powers over cathedral life probably dates to this period.¹²² Nonetheless, it seems that problems still afflicted the reorganised chapter, for although the election was managed *concorditer* (amicably), it was said to have been arranged *singulariter* (singularly) and was not sufficiently *communiter* (collegiate) to satisfy the requirements of canon law.¹²³ Perhaps too few canons had voted or were present to make the vote canonical, either because too many were absent, or possibly because the chapter itself was comprised of too few canons for it to constitute a legally valid electoral body.

During the next 100 years or so the evidence for the functioning of the cathedral chapter at Lismore is both fragmentary and sometimes contradictory, so it is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about its operation. In 1300 the dean and chapter are specifically identified as having elected Andrew ["Andreas"] of the order of Friar Preachers to the see of Argyll, while on 18 November 1327 a charter by the same bishop in Lismore Cathedral was appended with both the episcopal and chapter seals.¹²⁴ Together, these indicate the existence of a collegiate chapter in the early fourteenth century with powers to elect the bishop without the involvement of the parochial clergy. However, the election of Andrew's successor, Màrtainn of Argyll was much more controversial and incurred opposition. He first appears as bishop-elect of Argyll on 16 March 1342, when he received a safe conduct to travel to the *Curia* to obtain papal

¹²¹ *Pais. Reg.*, 134.

¹²² *Les Registres d'Urbain IV (1261–1264)*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris, 1904), no. 1496; *Fasti*, 38–39; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 136, n. 60.

¹²³ *Fasti*, 38.

¹²⁴ "In cujus rei testimnium sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo dicti nostri capituli presentibus est appensum". *Pais. Reg.*, 137; *Vet. Mon.*, 169, no. 368; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 37.

confirmation of his election.¹²⁵ Just over a month later, however, on 25 April, Aonghas of Argyll [“Angus de Ergadia”], rector of the parish church of Dunoon, also arrived claiming that he had been elected “according to ancient and approved custom by the clergy of the city and diocese of Argyll”.¹²⁶ The “clergy of the city” doubtless refers to the cathedral clergy, but the reference to the clergy of the “diocese of Argyll” clearly implies a continuing electoral role for the parochial clergy. The petition was essentially claiming that the only valid electoral body was that formed by rural deans and the dean of the chapter. There had evidently been a major dispute over whether the cathedral chapter had sole electoral rights, and it would seem that some, or perhaps all, of the cathedral clergy had voted separately amongst themselves without the consent of the diocesan clergy or their representatives. Though the papacy would later decide that Aonghas’s election was “falsely asserted”, he had already died at the *Curia* by 1344 while the case was still in progress, thus conveniently enabling his rival to obtain the office. In accordance with papal practice of the time, Màrtainn was, however, forced to first resign his right to the see before being granted papal provision.¹²⁷ The outcome of the papal litigation is frustratingly ambiguous, but as Andrew Barrell has argued, it is telling that one party felt it could justifiably argue that the right to elect belonged to a wider body of clergy, and hints at a chapter of less full development than in most parts of Scotland.¹²⁸ The situation is further complicated by another piece of evidence which suggests more confusion over the cathedral chapter’s status 13 years later. Bishop Màrtainn of Argyll figured among the signatories to a charter of 26 September 1357, but no common chapter seal was appended, because the chapter “has no common seal, as all the clergy elect”.¹²⁹ This admission confirms that Aonghas’s claim to the see had a legitimate basis and indicates that the chapter’s apparent collegiate status in 1327 was either legally invalid, or perhaps forgotten with all the troubles and dislocation in the 1340s.

There is no question, however, that the dispute was exacerbated, and perhaps even provoked, by the fact that both candidates were supported by the Bruce and Balliol rivals for the Scottish throne. In

¹²⁵ *Fasti*, 35.

¹²⁶ “Se a dilectis filiis clero civitatis et diocesis Ergadensis, ad quos de antique et approbata consuetudine ius eligendi Episcoporum Ergadensem”. *Vet. Mon.*, 283–84, no. 564; *Fasti*, 35.

¹²⁷ *CPL*, iii, 82, 148, 153; *Fasti*, 35; Barrell, *Papacy*, 197.

¹²⁸ My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for his comments on this affair.

¹²⁹ “non habet commune sigillum, quia totus clerus eligit”. *APS*, i, 294; *CDS*, iii, no. 1650.

March 1342, Edward III wrote to the *Curia* on behalf of Edward Balliol requesting papal support for the candidature of Màrtainn of Argyll noting that he was “zealous” for Edward III, while in January 1343, Aonghas of Argyll described himself as a clerk of David II, and presumably had Bruce support.¹³⁰ From a political perspective the dispute should be interpreted as part of David II’s wider strategy to exert his royal authority following his return from exile in June 1341.¹³¹ It also follows a pattern whereby Balliol petitioned the *Curia* to place his own clerics into the sees of St Andrews and Dunkeld, and is perhaps illustrative of the strategic value attached to the bishopric of Argyll by the Crown at this time.¹³² Balliol’s sponsorship of Màrtainn was perhaps intended to compensate for the loss of regional support caused by the recent defection of Eoin, Lord of the Isles back to David II in 1341.¹³³ However, one should not ignore the possibility that Clann Dubhghaill, the Balliols’ traditional allies, continued to play a role in Lismore even after their forfeiture in 1308. Their chief, Eoin *Gallda* (‘foreigner’) had, after all, been actively supporting the Balliol cause in his family’s ancestral territories of Lorn, Lismore and Benderloch since at least 1338.¹³⁴ Indeed, Màrtainn of Argyll was in all probability a MacDubhghaill himself.¹³⁵ Considerable doubt also surrounds the precise status of Lismore during this period. It is notable by its absence from royal grants of lands to Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul following the forfeiture of Clann Dubhghaill, and therefore appears to have remained, officially at least, in royal hands.¹³⁶ One may conjecture, therefore, that the dispute in 1342 demonstrated the difficulties the Crown was experiencing

¹³⁰ *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer, Record Commission edition (London, 1816–1869), 17 vols., ii, part ii, 1189; Watt, *Graduates*, 181–182; *CPL*, iii, 82.

¹³¹ M. Penman, *David II, 1329–71*, (East Linton, 2004), 75–76, 119, n. 6.

¹³² *Foedera*, ii, part ii, 1189; *CDS*, iii, nos. 1059, 1061, 1064, 1080.

¹³³ A. Beam, *The Balliol Dynasty, 1210–1364* (Edinburgh, 2008), 224, 246–247 and n. 94, 251–252 and n. 6.

¹³⁴ Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 155; Boardman, *Campbells*, 60–61, n. 32.

¹³⁵ See below, pp. 147–48.

¹³⁶ At least until the charter of 1358 which restored Eoin *Gallda* to all the lands and possessions formerly held by his grandfather Alasdair (Latinised as *Alexander*). *RRS*, vi, no. 165. The lands specifically granted to Aonghas Òg of Islay were Kinbaldin (Morvern) and Ardnamurchan; Lochaber; and Duror and Glenagwe (Glencoe). *RMS*, i, appendix ii, nos. 56–58; *ALI*, pp. xx, xxvii. Certain lords of Clann Chaimbeul received charters in mainland Lorn, Benderloch and Appin, and the constabulary of Dunstaffnage Castle. *RRS*, v, p. 242, nos. 374, 393 index, no. 368; *RMS*, i, appendix 2, nos. 353, 368, 372; *HP*, iv, 195–197; Boardman, *Campbells*, 44–45.

in exercising control over Lismore precisely because its traditional lord was active in the region.

It is worth noting that the only two episodes when the bishopric of Argyll came to wider national prominence before the late fourteenth century both highlighted internal problems with the organisation or work of the cathedral clergy. However, these sources simply reflect instances where outside agencies chose to show an interest in the affairs of the Church in Argyll and tried to make changes that would suit their own ends. They are, moreover, far too brief to be considered representative of the ecclesiastical organisation of the cathedral chapter and it is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about it. A chapter of some kind certainly existed from at least 1240, but its structure, powers and its relationship vis-à-vis the diocesan clergy are fuzzy.

It is really only as petitions to the papal *Curia* begin to filter through from the late 1300s that a clear image of the chapter starts to emerge. In addition to the deanery, which reappears in 1350 after a long absence of over 80 years, the other dignities of the treasurership (in 1390), the precentorship (c. 1395) and finally the chancellorship (1424) make their appearance.¹³⁷ These latter three offices occur relatively late, but their prebendal income, which in the late sixteenth century was derived from an equal apportion of a quarter of the tithes from the parish church of Lismore, implies that their origins were much earlier.¹³⁸ In addition, leases dating to the 1570s show that these dignitaries had possession of lands on Lismore, which presumably constituted another element of their income.¹³⁹ The union of the deanery with the vicarage of Lismore in 1497 led Cowan and Watt to conclude that the vicarage was the dean's prebend, but this remains doubtful, for while the suggestion finds parallels in the northern Irish dioceses of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe, the 1497 union at Lismore was only a year old, and prior to this date both benefices pertained to different individuals.¹⁴⁰ While all this is, admittedly, very late evidence, the bishop and archdeacon of Argyll (who was also a member of the chapter) had been receiving their income by this manner since the mid-thirteenth century: the bishop had been entitled to one quarter of all the parochial tithes in the diocese since 1230 × 1236, while reference to the archdeacon's

¹³⁷ *Fasti*, 40, 42, 43, 45.

¹³⁸ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133.

¹³⁹ *OPS*, ii, part i, 165–166; NAS GD112/2/106, nos. 2, 3.

¹⁴⁰ Appendix A, nos. 371–374; *Fasti*, 39; *Parishes*, 134; Nicholls, "Irish Cathedral Chapters",

receipt of a quarter of the tithes of the parish church of Kilfinan in Cowal first occurred in September 1253.¹⁴¹ The quadripartition of tithes among the dignitaries also took place at Dornoch Cathedral in Caithness diocese in 1224 × 1245, and at Fortrose Cathedral in Ross diocese in 1255 × 1256, while the apportioning of a segment of all *parochial* tithes to the bishops of Sodor and Dunblane was granted by the papacy in 1231 and 1237 respectively.¹⁴² It seems to have been a largely thirteenth-century practice, which would therefore suggest that the treasurer, precentor and chancellor were either created in the mid-thirteenth century or had inherited their incomes from earlier predecessors – perhaps like in Ireland, by earlier members of the *céli Dé*.¹⁴³

Further evidence for favouring a thirteenth-century date for the creation of the dignities occurs in a papal petition in August 1425. This stated that the “precentorship of St Molocus” (i.e. Lismore Cathedral) had formerly belonged “by right and custom” to the prior of nearby Ardchattan monastery, which was not established until 1231.¹⁴⁴ In Armagh in 1247 the prior of the *céli Dé* community became precentor when a new, secular chapter was formed, so the association with Ardchattan may have similarly marked an important new phase in the development of the cathedral chapter of Argyll.¹⁴⁵ Interestingly, a parallel change also occurred in the diocese of Dunblane, where the precentorship was held by successive abbots of Inchaffray from c. 1240 following an agreement with the monastery brokered by Bishop Clement of Dunblane, who wished to establish prebends to support the creation of a cathedral chapter.¹⁴⁶ Given this, it seems legitimate to conjecture that the customary right of the priors of Ardchattan to the precentorship of Argyll may have originated during Clement’s stint as bishop of Argyll in c. 1247.

The decision to remove the precentorship from the control of the prior of Ardchattan and to award it to a secular churchman, which took place in c. 1371, signalled the emergence of a fully-fledged collegiate chapter of secular canons.¹⁴⁷ A single canon (“canonicus de Lismor”) does appear in

¹⁴¹ *Pais. Reg.*, 134–135. For the archdeacon’s income see below pp. 57, 240. For more discussion of the bishop’s quarter tithes, see pp. 65–66, 91–92. For the archdeacon’s place on the chapter, see p. 78.

¹⁴² *Parishes*, 47, 172; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 77, 83, 90, 130.

¹⁴³ Nicholls, “Irish Cathedral Chapters”, 108.

¹⁴⁴ *CSSR*, ii, 112.

¹⁴⁵ Nicholls, “Irish Cathedral Chapters”, 108; Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, 87.

¹⁴⁶ *Fasti*, 104, 109; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 90–91; *Inchaffray Chrs.*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

¹⁴⁷ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 94.

1250, but Cowan argued that he was probably the priest who conducted services in the cathedral and cites the contemporary example of Dornoch Cathedral in Caithness which was served by a single priest in 1224 × 1245.¹⁴⁸ The term itself is not unambiguous in this period: canons in the cathedral churches of Dunkeld and Aberdeen during the early to mid-thirteenth century were also identical with the precentor and treasurer respectively, so it could refer to one of the early dignitaries.¹⁴⁹ Whatever the case, it is one isolated instance, and the preponderance of available evidence suggests that the creation of simple canons, supported by the erection of parish churches into prebendaries, should be regarded as a development of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Cowan proposed that the creation of the late fourteenth-century chapter was based upon an original “core” of four permanent, simple prebends: Glassary, Kilberry, Kilmodan, and Kilmartin, to which Kilcolmkill in Kintyre was added as a fifth prebendal church by Bishop Màrtainn on 6 October 1382.¹⁵⁰ This would have made a total of nine permanent canopies altogether – four dignitaries and five canons – to constitute the chapter. However, aside from Kilcolmkill and Kilberry, for which we have documented papal authorisation dating their annexation, there is no evidence that these other churches were annexed to the cathedral before the 1420s. They were, moreover, certainly not the responsibility of Bishop Màrtainn. Kilberry in Knapdale, which has been identified as a prebend in c. 1423, was actually erected much earlier by Bishop Màrtainn’s successor on 13 January 1392.¹⁵¹ Though their subsequent appearances in the historical record are irregular, both Kilberry and Kilcolmkill retained the status of prebends into the later fifteenth century, and in the latter case perhaps beyond.¹⁵² However, the annexations of the three remaining churches were the responsibility of other bishops. Kilmodan in Glendaruel was definitely a free parsonage in 1420, but by 1425 it too had been annexed to the cathedral as a prebend, while the first conclusive evidence of Glassary’s prebendal status does not occur until 13 September 1432, a

¹⁴⁸ *Pais. Reg.*, 134; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 136.

¹⁴⁹ *Fasti*, 6, 132.

¹⁵⁰ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 137; *Parishes*, 98; *CPL Clement VII*, 83–84, where “St Columba in Moll”, refers to the Mull of Kintyre.

¹⁵¹ *Parishes*, 94; *CPL Clement VII*, 170–171.

¹⁵² Kilberry appears as a canonry and prebend on 8 December 1427 and 7 April 1498. Kilcolmkill in Kintyre appears as such in the years 1436, 1438, 1440, 1458, 1467 and 1496. It may still have been a prebend in 1538. *CSSR*, ii, 178; iv, nos. 309, 314a, 445, 635; v, nos. 676, 1174; *CPL*, xvi, no. 869; Appendix A, nos. 182, 183; *Parishes*, 94, 98.

full 50 years and four bishops later than that of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre.¹⁵³ Lastly, the first documented evidence that the church of Kilmartin had been awarded prebendal status does not occur until 14 December 1443; on 20 October 1436 the incumbent was still identified simply as the rector of St Martin's church.¹⁵⁴ This does not preclude the possibility that Kilmartin was already annexed to the chapter of Argyll, for even in later charters the church is almost always described simply as the "rectory of St Martin" rather than as a prebend of the cathedral. However, as the period between 1441 and 1442 saw some significant changes in the status of other churches under Clann Chaimbeul patronage, it may make more sense to see the annexation of Kilmartin as part of this process.¹⁵⁵

Cowan also omits the annexation of Kilchousland in Kintyre, which occurred sometime before 1421 (perhaps as early as 1408) and which remained attached until at least 1433, during which time it was held by at least two incumbent canons of Argyll.¹⁵⁶ It is unknown how long Kilchousland retained its prebendal status, but by 1499 it appears to have reverted to a free parsonage.¹⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Kilchousland should probably be considered another of the "core" permanent prebends which the bishops founded during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This brings a total of 11 permanent canonries altogether, composed of four dignitaries, the archdeacon and six canons by the mid-fifteenth century. Thus it appears that the original permanent "core" of prebendal churches formed in the later fourteenth century numbered not four, but just two. The other four – Kilchousland, Kilmodan, Glassary and Kilmartin – all emerged as prebends in the early to mid-fifteenth century, and, aside from Kilchousland, are all to be found in Mid-Argyll and Cowal. Their annexation marks an effort by the bishops to establish the chapter upon a firmer basis with a stable number of permanent prebends and a fixed number of canons.

¹⁵³ *CSSR*, i, 210; ii, 228; iii, 254–255; *CPL*, vii, 378–379. The actual time frame for its annexation to Lismore can be narrowed down to sometime between 13 July 1428 and 13 September 1432. This coincided with a royal action over lands in Glassary raised by the Scrymgeour Lord of Glassary against Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe. Boardman, *Campbells*, 125, 129.

¹⁵⁴ The name of the rector is not given. *CSSR*, iv, no. 967; *AT*, dated 20 October 1436.

¹⁵⁵ That is, the creation of Kilmun Collegiate Church. For the designation of the rectors of Kilmartin, see *Parishes*, 104–105; and *AT*, *passim*.

¹⁵⁶ Appendix A, nos. 220–221. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 137, instead argues that it was only a life prebend, for which see below.

¹⁵⁷ Appendix A, nos. 224–226. On 12 March 1508 James IV granted it as a mensal church of the bishopric of Argyll. *RMS*, ii, no. 3208.

Cowan also noted there were also temporary prebends *ad vitam*, benefices which were awarded with prebendal status for the lifetime of the incumbent, who was received as a member of the chapter.¹⁵⁸ The only recorded case of a life prebend in Argyll occurs in a papal letter of May 1506, when the bishop and chapter were instructed to award prebendal status to the rectory of Arisaig and to assign the incumbent a place in the chapter.¹⁵⁹ Two earlier abortive attempts may also be proposed, namely the annexations of the rectories of Kilmore in Lorn in May 1380 and Kilmelfort in May 1411.¹⁶⁰ Doubtless there were others. The bishops presumably employed this policy as a means of augmenting the number of canons in the chapter, but its flexibility gave the opportunity to choose the best candidates the diocese had to offer; the proposed canons of Kilmore and Kilmelfort were a scholar of canon and civil law and a Bachelor of Decrets (canon law) respectively.¹⁶¹ The practice was not that unusual by contemporary standards and *ad vitam* prebendaries can be found in dioceses like Glasgow and Aberdeen, while in Ireland the late medieval dioceses of Elphin, Derry, Cloyne and Killala had no fixed number of canons in their cathedral chapters.¹⁶²

If, therefore, the cathedral chapter of Lismore was essentially structured along the same lines as other Scottish cathedrals, one evident peculiarity was its apparent lack of a common chapter fund. The common funds were a typical feature of cathedral chapters. They arose in the twelfth century in response to a problem that was becoming increasingly widespread in the western Church – the growth of non-residentiary canons. In England many of the donations were given with the express purpose of encouraging the canons to reside near their cathedral, and it was almost exclusively set aside for the canons that remained resident, ensuring there were a sufficient number of them to conduct the service and sing the Divine Office.¹⁶³ In Scotland it appears that the donations took the form of parochial revenues granted to the chapter for their own uses, and though the actual

¹⁵⁸ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 78.

¹⁵⁹ *CPL*, xviii, no. 640.

¹⁶⁰ Appendix A, nos. 288, 313.

¹⁶¹ Appendix B, nos. 8, 101.

¹⁶² Note should also be made of numerous examples to be found in the papal records of clerics petitioning for a canonry in the expectation of a prebend. It is possible that the size of the chapter at Lismore was boosted by canons without an income to support their position in the chapter, but no examples have been found. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 94–95, 138; *CPL*, xiv, 67; *CPL*, xiii, 46; *CPL*, xii, 548; *CPL*, x, 457.

¹⁶³ K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages: a constitutional study with special reference to the fourteenth century* (Manchester, 1967), 41.

number of churches annexed to the capitular *mensa* varies considerably, they can still be found in all the Scottish secular cathedral chapters, with the significant exception of Argyll and Sodor on the western seaboard.¹⁶⁴ This was another peculiarity shared with Gaelic Ulster, where several Irish dioceses in the metropolitan province of Armagh also had no common chapter fund.¹⁶⁵

As far as Argyll is concerned, the lack of evidence for a common fund before the later fourteenth century is perhaps neither surprising nor significant, as the little information which survives of the cathedral clergy suggests they were staffed by local men. Only the forenames of a handful of cathedral clergy survive from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but most of them tend to suggest a local origin.¹⁶⁶ Some of these were almost certainly drawn from the *céli Dé* community, while others were probably re-constituted as vicars choral, which was a popular route for *céli Dé* in post-Reformation Ireland.¹⁶⁷ Even the cathedral dignitaries who appeared in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries bore forenames suggestive of local Argyllshire or Hebridean origin, and some of them bore variants of the surnames of local Lismore and Lorn kindreds, including *MacPhaidein* [*MacFadyan*], *MacLachlainn* [*MacLachlan*] and *MacGille-Mhicheil* [*MacGillemichael*].¹⁶⁸ Perhaps the most revealing indication in regard to the latter kindred is their subsequent appearance in a seventeenth-century account obtained from Lismore, which seems to have formed part of local tradition, concerning the bishopric and cathedral offices:

There was of Ancient certaine Bishops of Lismor of the race and name of Clanvickgilliemichaell and eftir these Bishopes there was other Bishops admitted and there was ane of these last Bishopes that wold depose and deprive certaine of the name of Clanvickgilliemichael, which were friends to

¹⁶⁴ *Parishes*, appendix, 213–226.

¹⁶⁵ Nicholls, “Irish Cathedral Chapters”, 108. One possibility is that lands on Lismore associated with the various dignitaries in the later sixteenth century were assigned for the common fund.

¹⁶⁶ Deans: Gillemoluoc, Lachlan Lachlani; archdeacons: Cristin, Gilbert, Maurice; officials: Daniel, Maurice; rural deans: Gillifelan, Gillecund (Kintyre); Maluine, Odo (Glassary); John (Lorn); canon of Argyll: David. *Fasti*, 39–40, 46, 49–51. Of these, only Daniel and David appear as potentially non-Gaelic, though David [Gaelic *Daibhidh*] occurs as a personal name of several later medieval clergy in Lorn. See Appendix A, nos. 308, 319, 370, 438.

¹⁶⁷ Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, 88.

¹⁶⁸ *Fasti*, 40, 42, 43, 45. See chap. 3, pp. 155 (MacLachlainn); 156–57 (MacGille-Mhicheil); 158–59 (MacPhaidein). See also Carmichael, *Lismore in Alba*, 95–98; *Surnames*, 543.

the Bishope of that name, so called who had certaine Offices from their friend and Cosigne [cousin]: and were in possesssione thereof long tyme after his death, being acceptit of sundrie bishopes that succedit their Cosignes place and specialle they having some right or title therto, and being better acquainted in that trade then others that were in the Countrie. At last it fortuneth that one Bishope was admitted Bishop of Lismor He envying by hatred these ancient men or race of that Clane [i.e. Clanvickgille michael]; or others being willing to succed in that Office, And to obtaine the Bishopes favour that they might obtaine that Office from him and depose these ancient men which were in possession thereof for a long space; out of their Office. These race and Clan of Clanvickgilliemichael perceiving themselves to be so dealt with be the Bishopes evill will towards them, they took an displeasure against him, and being strong in the countrey, was of Intentioun and mind to revenge the same with the Bishope And finallie determined how to frequent the Bishope in giveing an equall satisfactioun according to his deserving Which they wold redound to the Bishopes uttermost destruction and ruine. Thaire pretendit determinatione being finished, on a day they did meet with the Bishope who looked not for such salutatione as he receaved at their hands – and they did kill him And so he did finish his lyff out of this world And since that tyme as yet there was never a Bishope that did come to Lismore to dwell.¹⁶⁹

The text suggests that the cathedral offices at Lismore were at least partly staffed by an old local lineage of MicGille-Mhicheil clerics that specialised in the Church and had become accustomed to succeed to their offices upon a hereditary basis. Yet when this process began is unclear. There is no record of any MacGille-Mhicheil bishop at all in the medieval era, though the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is the most likely period, where a number of the bishops are only identified by forename and where the episcopal succession is incomplete.¹⁷⁰ The claims of hereditary succession cannot be strictly corroborated, though it was paralleled in Gaelic Ireland, where local families would maintain claims to particular offices, some clerical and some lay, in the cathedral chapters formed out of earlier Irish monasteries.¹⁷¹ In Wales too, the native clerical elite, or *familia*, were a group of clerics, often related to each other, who formed the executive body out of which the later Welsh cathedral chapters emerged. They were

¹⁶⁹ *Geog. Coll.*, ii, 156. See also *ibid.*, ii, p. xxxi, 527 for an abridged version of the text.

¹⁷⁰ *Fasti*, 34–35.

¹⁷¹ K. Simms, "Frontiers in the Irish Church – Regional and Cultural", in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland*, eds. T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (London, 1995), 177–200, especially 182; Gwynn, *Irish Church*, 231. See also J. Barry, "The Coarb in Medieval Times", *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record [IER]* 89 (1958), 24–35; J. Barry, "The Appointment of Coarb and Erenagh", *IER* 93 (1960), 361–365.

also dominated by the principle of hereditary succession, to the extent that Pope Alexander III (1159–1181), after discovering the hereditary nature of the archdeaconry of Bangor, warned their clerical elite against allowing the son to follow the father in the office.¹⁷² Although there is nothing conclusive in terms of evidence, it is very likely that the cathedral clergy of Lismore during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were chiefly composed of local men, several of whom were related to each other.

The last section, describing the process by which the kindred lost their offices, and culminating in the supposed killing of a bishop of Lismore, refers to an actual event which took place on the island in 1452 when the then bishop of Argyll and his companions were confronted by two local cathedral clergymen.¹⁷³ While this episode is not pertinent to Clann Mhic Gille-Mhicheil, it does fit into an observable pattern during the early to mid-fifteenth century whereby increasing numbers of non-local clergy were collated to the cathedral dignities, and also coincides with the gradual disappearance of MicGille-Mhicheil clergy in Lismore after 1420, and from the Church altogether after 1428.¹⁷⁴ Theoretically, the formation of the collegiate chapter would leave the cathedral offices more exposed to the laws and membership of the larger Church, and unrestricted access from non-local clerics. In Wales the formation of the chapter resulted in an influx of English clerics looking for preferment.¹⁷⁵ For Argyll, it could be argued that the eventual organisation of the chapter along more uniform lines may have similarly encouraged a number of clerics from beyond the West Highlands to seek office. However, as we will discover later on, the influx of non-local cathedral and parochial clergy actually followed the appointment of the first unambiguously Lowland bishop and was linked to the developing ties that the local Gaelic nobility were forging in the wider Scottish kingdom.

The most popular benefice in the diocese among non-local clergy was the archdeaconry of Argyll. The archdeacon was the *oculus episcopi*, ‘the bishop’s eye’, and the disciplinary officer over the parochial clergy. While a difficult task involving much travel in a predominantly mountainous diocese, it was an office of considerable importance and power, with its

¹⁷² Native clerical kindreds are found in twelfth-century Bangor, where some of them were brothers of the bishop, and in Llandaff, where the *familia* was dominated by the kin group of the clas of Llancarfan. M. Pearson, “The creation of the Bangor cathedral chapter”, *Welsh History Review* 20 (2000), 167–181, at 179–180.

¹⁷³ See below, pp. 84–86.

¹⁷⁴ See below, pp. 156–57.

¹⁷⁵ Pearson, “Bangor cathedral chapter”, 180.

own courts and jurisdiction, and in Argyll it certainly appears to have carried great prestige, attracting the attention of many clerics who petitioned the *Curia* for provision.¹⁷⁶ From 1361 until the Reformation the list of archdeacons is impressive and comparable with the most complete records elsewhere in the Scottish Church. The office was much sought-after, and any vacancies in it were speedily filled.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, little is known of the archdeacon's source of income. A quarter of the tithes of Kilfinan in Cowal had pertained to it since 1253, although on at least three subsequent occasions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the archdeacon occurs holding the vicarage of Kilfinan also.¹⁷⁸ A lease in 1623 also notes his entitlement to a quarter of the tithes of Eilean Munde in Lorn.¹⁷⁹ This may hint at an entitlement akin to the bishop's quarter of all parochial tithes, though how widespread this was cannot be ascertained. Contemporary estimates of his medieval income varied considerably between £9 and £40 sterling, but most were around £30 sterling, making it one of the richest benefices in the diocese.¹⁸⁰

Altogether, there were no less than 27 individuals who were associated with the office, though just 16 of these actually succeeded in obtaining possession.¹⁸¹ Of this group only six could be confirmed as men of local West Highland origin. Of the remaining ten, all but one occurred after 1470, the date when patronage of the office probably passed to the earls of Argyll.¹⁸² In addition, there were a further 11 unsuccessful petitioners, ten of whom were probably non-local, and one unknown; none can be confirmed as being of local origin. A handful of Lowland clerics entered the office in the later fifteenth century, and most of these are probably attributable to the political connections established by branch kindreds of Clann Chaimbeul in the Lowlands, particularly in Ayrshire, during this

¹⁷⁶ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 209; D. Attwater, *The Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary* (London, 1931), 35.

¹⁷⁷ See *Fasti*, 47–49; Iain Gerard MacDonald, “The Secular Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Argyll from circa 1189 to 1560”, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Glasgow, 2009), appendix A, nos. 453–459.

¹⁷⁸ *Pais. Reg.*, 134–135; Appendix A, nos. 32, 41–42, MacDonald, “Clergy of Argyll”, appendix A, nos. 454, 455. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133, and *Parishes*, 60–61, mistakenly identified this church, “Kyllinan” as Eilean Munde, for which see *OPS*, 2:1, 170.

¹⁷⁹ *HMC*, Fourth Report, 481.

¹⁸⁰ *CPP*, 573; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 125–126; *CPL*, vii, 266; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 782, 789, 816; vi, nos. 231, 253, 1183, 1250.

¹⁸¹ *Fasti* 47–49; MacDonald, “Clergy of Argyll”, appendix A, nos. 453–459.

¹⁸² See below, p. 67.

period.¹⁸³ William Elphinstone is probably the most famous incumbent; he probably owed his provision to the archdeaconry through his role as a fellow lord of Council alongside the Earl of Argyll and in James III's court.¹⁸⁴ In the 20 years between 1470 and 1490 the archdeaconry frequently changed hands with 11 clerics scrambling for the office, while the vacancy in 1554 produced no less than four supplicants.¹⁸⁵ Some of these would go on to attain high positions in the Church and royal government, including Elphinstone, the future bishop of Aberdeen; Eoin Caimbeul, future bishop of Sodor; and Andrew Forman, future archbishop of St Andrews and a close associate of James IV.¹⁸⁶ It may bear some comparison with the archdeaconry of Shetland in Orkney diocese, another wealthy and highly-prized benefice sought by careerists and well-educated ecclesiastics.¹⁸⁷ The succession of personnel demonstrates the popularity of the office during this time, but it also meant that, with its frequent exchange among pluralist clerics from the Lowlands, there was little chance that the actual office would be performed in person, and a substitute was doubtless employed.¹⁸⁸ However, between the later fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries the state of the archdeaconry was far more settled, being typically in the possession of a cleric from the local nobility who usually remained in office until his promotion or death; between them "John Dugaldi" [Eoin mac Dhubhghaill], "Nigel Colini Campbell" [Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul] and "Dougal" [Dubhghall] Caimbeul of Lochawe controlled the benefice for some 80 to 84 years. Altogether, four of the archdeacons between 1395 and 1490 belonged to the houses of Lochawe and Glenorchy.¹⁸⁹ The office also consistently attracted other local clerics with powerful connections, such as "David Macuincharde", chaplain to the Lord of the Isles, and "Conghan MacPaden" [Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein], described as chaplain to

¹⁸³ These included Peter de Sandilands 1473–1475; David Cunningham 1489–1509; Robert Montgomery 1554–1601. Boardman, *Campbells*, 287, n. 56.

¹⁸⁴ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 78, 99.

¹⁸⁵ *Fasti*, 48; MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", Appendix A, nos. 456–459.

¹⁸⁶ *Fasti* 49; MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 79; N. MacDougall, *James IV*, (East Linton, 1997), 254–255, 297–298.

¹⁸⁷ See B. Smith, "Archdeacons of Shetland, 1195–1567", in *Ecclesia Nidrosiensis 1153–1537: søkelys på Niaroskirkens og Nidarosprovinsens historie*, ed. Steinar Imsen (Trondheim, 2003), 161–169, at 164; G. Donaldson, "The Archdeaconry of Shetland", in *Northern Isles Connections: Essays from Orkney and Shetland presented to Per Sveaas Andersen*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Kirkwall, 1995), 77–89, at 80–81.

¹⁸⁸ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 73.

¹⁸⁹ In addition to the aforementioned Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul (1395–1433 × 37) and Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe (1437–1453), they were Eoin Caimbeul (1486–1487) and Raibeart Caimbeul (1487–1490). *Fasti*, 47–48.

Robert, Earl of Fife.¹⁹⁰ That the latter individual, a cleric of considerable local status, chose to exchange the treasurership, a dignity, in favour of the archdeaconry of Argyll is a sure guide as to the local importance and value attached to it.¹⁹¹

The willingness of Gille-Chòmhghain to resign the dignity suggests that the archdeaconry of Argyll was reserved a seat on the chapter at this time. It became normal practice in the Scottish Church for the archdeacon to be present in cathedral chapters, and in the thirteenth century the bishops are often found acquiring a prebendal seat to give their lieutenant a place in the cathedral, while in Ireland the archdeacon was always a member of the chapter.¹⁹² In Argyll the first evidence that he was entitled to a seat on the chapter does not occur until 1531, but this was probably always the case and helps explain the popularity of the office.¹⁹³ The cathedral dignities of Lismore were also sought after, as there are plenty of cases of litigation to be found requesting provision to them, but none of them seems to have been the subject of such sustained interest as the archdeaconry. This may seem somewhat bizarre, particularly in the case of the deanery, which was after all, usually the second greatest dignity after the bishop himself, though as we have noted, this was unclear even in the late fourteenth century. The archdeaconry may not have been a major dignity, but the evidence would suggest that it commanded considerable prestige and that, bar the bishop, it surpassed all other ecclesiastical offices in the diocese.

The emergence of the diocese of Argyll in the mid to late twelfth century was part of much wider process of concurrent ecclesiastical reform towards uniformity that was experienced by the Church in Scotland and Ireland during the twelfth centuries. The cathedral chapter, with a dean at its head, was set in place by the mid-thirteenth century at the latest, and was probably of synodal character and staffed by individuals local to Lismore and Lorn. Later attempts to establish a more powerful, permanent collegiate community with sole right to elect were a matter of some contention in the fourteenth century. It was not until the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when the other cathedral dignities begin to appear and a series of parish churches were annexed as simple canonries and prebends that we can say that a collegiate chapter was definitely in

¹⁹⁰ *CPP*, 573, 575.

¹⁹¹ *CPL Clement VII*, 169.

¹⁹² Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 80; Nicholls "Irish Cathedral Chapters", 104.

¹⁹³ D. McRoberts, "An Unnoticed Lismore Document of 1531", *IR* 21:1 (1970), 80–81.

existence. Nonetheless, the identities of the dignitaries themselves and the source of their income both strongly indicate that they evolved out of earlier offices which date back to the mid-thirteenth century. This would accord with the earliest suggested period for the building of the present cathedral on Lismore. As such, it points to the mid-thirteenth century as the critical period in establishing the material and structural basis of the later medieval ecclesiastical government of Argyll. However, even at this stage the decision to site of the cathedral at Lismore was causing some concern and, as chapter 2 will demonstrate, this became an increasingly vexed question in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LATE MEDIEVAL BISHOPRIC AND ITS BISHOPS

“The see of Lismore is vacant. The land is mountainous and sterile, the rents small, and the people uncivilised, so that very few desire to hold the bishopric.”¹ This was James V’s unappetising summation of the bishopric in his letter to Pope Paul III on 1 February 1539, when he asked him to accept his own candidate for the office. Such was the apparent apathy for the position that none of the individuals who occupied the office after 1525 were anxious to have themselves consecrated, or showed any interest in the cathedral seat of Lismore. Although most Scottish bishoprics in the Highlands have received little scholarly attention, the see of Argyll has always received a very poor press, and historians have been content to accept the critical comments made of it by outside agencies, in particular by James V and his father James IV in the early to mid-sixteenth century. Ian Cowan, for example, dismissed Lismore Cathedral as “poverty-stricken and rural”, a failed institution which required to be periodically rescued by the Crown and papacy.² Even within West Highland society, Lismore is regarded as the poor relation of other local religious institutions. It was “too remote and indigent” to sustain a school of West Highland monumental sculpture, and neither it nor the neighbouring cathedral of Snizort were able to compete with the “far more dynamic and successful” religious communities of Iona, Saddell, Ardchattan and Oronsay for the patronage of major kindreds.³ However, little attempt has been made to understand the history of the bishopric or Lismore Cathedral over the course of the later medieval period, or how it was affected by the great changes which Argyll experienced during this time, in particular the rise of Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Dòmhnail, and the subsequent forfeiture of the latter in 1493. Criticism of the bishopric has also tended to focus upon Lismore Cathedral rather than the bishops themselves, and no serious examination of the standards of episcopal governance in the diocese has been made. This chapter analyses the state of the bishopric through the

¹ *James V Letters*, 364.

² Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133–138, 140–143.

³ *LMMS*, 52; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 20.

course of the later medieval period and in the context of the significant economic and political changes which took place in the West Highlands throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and explores the degree to which the bishops' ability to govern was affected by their financial situation and their relationship with the local nobility.

Argyll was, next to Galloway, the poorest see in the Scottish kingdom during the thirteenth century. Table 2 provides a summary of contributions to *Bagimond's Roll*, a papal taxation of parishes and religious houses throughout Scotland for the relief of the Holy Land in 1274 and 1275. Aside from Galloway, Argyll contributed the least amount, but it was comparable with Caithness and Ross and it is clear from the account given by the collector, Master Baiamund de Vitia, in 1287 that his expectations for the diocese were much lower than Galloway and roughly equivalent to the see of Ross.

In addition, the records of payment of service taxes to the papal court indicate that the bishop of Argyll's episcopal *mensa*, i.e. the revenues and property given for his personal support, was not considered lucrative. Bishops throughout Christendom who had obtained papal provision to office were obliged to pay service taxes, the most expensive of which were the common services, calculated at approximately one third of the estimated gross annual income of the prelacy.⁴ The bishop of Argyll was expected to pay 200 florins in common services, meaning the bishopric was valued at 600 florins in total. This was substantially smaller than the payments expected from the bishops of Ross and Caithness or even Sodor, set at 600, 750 and 600 florins respectively, but it was still double that of Galloway (100 florins).⁵ Although payments continued to be made according to this valuation during the fifteenth century, the system of assessment had already become anachronistic by 1349, largely as a consequence of the economic and demographic dislocation brought about by plague and by warfare with England.⁶ A royal reassessment of all secular and ecclesiastical property in July 1366 concluded that the value of the bishopric (*episcopatus*) had dropped from £244 sterling according to the old taxation to the true valuation of £133.⁷ This presumably referred to episcopal rather than diocesan wealth, and is roughly equivalent to the bishop's

⁴ *ACSB*, p. xli.

⁵ *Hierarchia Catholica medii Aevi, 1198–1600*, eds. Eubel and Van Gulik, 8 vols. (Regensburg, 1913–), i, 162, 176, 241, 424, 456.

⁶ Barrell, *Papacy*, 27–29.

⁷ *APS*, i, 499.

own £140 valuation of his *mensa* in March 1462.⁸ However, this still represented a significant decline, as parity between English and Scottish pounds sterling was abandoned after 1367 and by 1451 the Scottish pound was worth just one third of the English pound.⁹ A papal letter of 8 July 1411 shows the bishop of Argyll was struggling to fulfil his financial obligations to the papacy and that he was excommunicated because he failed to pay the papal treasurer and other officials in the Apostolic Camera “certain sums of money” for which he was bound under oath.¹⁰ Although obligations were met by newly-appointed bishops in 1420 and 1428, by 1475 the papacy had officially acknowledged the reduced wealth of the *mensa* by halving the common service tax to 100 florins, probably following an inquisition into the see’s revenues.¹¹ Other contemporary Scottish bishops also struggled to meet payments and requested re-assessment of their revenues: inquisitions were made into the sees of Orkney in 1418 (taxed at 200 florins), Ross in 1440 (taxed at 600 florins) and Caithness in 1484 (taxed at 625 florins).¹² In this last case it also resulted in a halving of the tax, while similar concessions were also sought for the Church in France and the German Empire.¹³ The bishops of Sodor were far worse off; despite the significant loss of revenues from the Isle of Man they continued to pay, albeit sometimes with great difficulty, the obsolete common tax of 600 florins to the Camera throughout the fifteenth century.¹⁴ Both Sodor and Argyll bishoprics were markedly poorer than Iona Abbey,

⁸ CPL, xi, 691. Indeed, the difference may be ascribed to the addition of Dunoon parish church in 1453.

⁹ E. Gemmill and N. Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 1995), 18–19, 363–371; A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), 77–84, appendix B, table III.

¹⁰ CPL *Benedict XIII*, 243. The promised sums may refer to a debt of 14 florins left by the previous bishop which the new bishop agreed to pay on 9 October 1397. McGurk, “Papal letters”, ii, nos. 1012–1013.

¹¹ H. Hoberg, *Taxae pro Communibus Servitiis* (Vatican City, 1949), 52; ACSB, xli–xlv. No record ordering such an inquiry survives, but on 8 May 1475 the bishop-elect paid 112 florins 25 shillings as total payment for common and petty services. His successor paid 110 florins for the same on 3 January 1498, while on 30 September 1525 his successor paid 117½ florins “at which church [Argyll] is taxed in rolls of the camera”. ACSB, 248; *Cam Ap., Oblig et Sol.* [GUS], pp. 5, 29. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 242, also clearly shows a reassessment.

¹² ACSB, pp. xlii, xlv, 2, 27, 333.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, 8 (twice), 9, 30, 68, 246, 261; GUS, PRO31/9–30, 187. It was not until November 1529 that a request was made for re-assessment. *James V Letters*, 162–163. Given this record one must cast serious doubt upon the validity of James V’s claim that the see could not be filled because of the heavy annates this entailed, particularly as the sixteenth-century bishops of Sodor, unlike their fifteenth-century predecessors, held Iona Abbey *in commendam* after 15 June 1499. Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 112.

which on 3 December 1421 was valued as worth £200 sterling per annum.¹⁵ When viewed within the wider context they show that Argyll's financial troubles were not unique to the western seaboard but were the consequence of a wider economic malaise affecting prelates elsewhere. The severe economic problems suffered during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meant that the *mensa* was, in real terms, considerably poorer than it had been in the late thirteenth century. This was compounded by the Chancery's continued use of an obsolete estimation of episcopal wealth during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, by comparison with his other Scots colleagues, the bishop of Argyll appears to have got off lightly.

The bishopric was far more seriously damaged by the failure of the Crown and the native magnates to make further endowments of any significance during this period of prolonged economic depression. It left the bishop depending upon thirteenth-century grants: the 14 pennylands on Lismore from Eòghan MacDubhghaill, Lord of Argyll in May 1240; royal gifts of the parish churches of Killeen (1243) and Kilbride (1249) and their pertinences to the episcopal *mensa*, and the grant (probably by papal gift) of the right to a quarter of all the parochial revenues in the diocese.¹⁶ On 17 August 1228 Alexander II made a further grant of the three davach lands (equivalent to 60 pennylands) of "Culkessoch" in pure and perpetual alms to Bishop Harald and his successors in the church of Lismore, but this appears to have been ineffective – perhaps surprisingly given that these lands were in the Black Isle near Rosemarkie which possessed a strong Mo Luóc cult.¹⁷ Between 1249 and 1447 there was just one donation made to the bishopric, a single gift amounting to 19½ pennylands on Lismore granted for the "sustentation of the episcopal mensa" by Eòghan ["Eugenius"] the MacDubhghaill Lord of Lorn, on 10 September 1334.¹⁸ It would be over 100 years before the bishop received further endowment. On 26 May 1447 some property rights in Lower Cowal were granted to the bishopric by

¹⁵ CSSR, i, 271.

¹⁶ RMS, ii, no. 3136; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133.

¹⁷ *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1853), 25, no. 32. The three davach lands of Kessock on the Black Isle included 'Ceseig uachdrach' and 'Do'ach Cheseig', near Bellfield, in the parish of Knockbain. My thanks go to Alasdair Ross for this information. W.J. Watson, *Place-names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904), 136.

¹⁸ RMS, ii, no. 3136. The date of this charter and the identity of the benefactor is still a matter of debate. See Sellar, "Hebridean Sea Kings", *passim*; Turner, "Bishops of Argyll", 649–651.

Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe.¹⁹ This was followed by a royal gift by James II on 29 October 1453, of the parish church of Dunoon to the episcopal *mensa* in perpetuity, granted out of singular affection for the bishop and “compassion for the poverty of the bishopric”.²⁰ Finally, on 6 December 1492 Eoin MacDòmhnail, Lord of the Isles granted “for the relief of the profit of the church of Lismore, which is of slender revenue, [and] assistance fitting for the prelates of the same” the patronage of Kilberry parish church, with the right to annexe it to the episcopal *mensa* if he so wished.²¹ In the early sixteenth century the bishopric enjoyed a substantial augmentation through the patronage of James IV,²² but for most of the medieval era the bishop had just two mensal churches, and only three after 1453. In this regard he was among the poorest bishops in Scotland, and in a similar position to the fifteenth-century bishops of Ross and Sodor, who each had two mensal churches at their disposal.²³

However, the bishop’s staple income did not derive from his mensal churches, but from his entitlement to a quarter of the tithes from each of the approximately 48 parish churches in the diocese.²⁴ Although there is no actual evidence of their collection in the late medieval period, this right was recognised in charters of the mid-thirteenth, early fourteenth and later sixteenth centuries.²⁵ On 27 June 1411 the bishop complained that nobles and “powerful men” had appropriated “the rents and profits pertaining to the episcopal table of Argyll, which for the greater part consist of tithes”.²⁶ This suggests three things: that it was the norm for such payments to be made; that they constituted the bulk of the bishop’s estimated annual income of £140 sterling; and that they were vulnerable to interference from the lay nobility. In this case it could either point to regional instability before the conflict of Harlaw in July 1411, or more plausibly, the ongoing personal conflict over the church of Kilmelfort between the bishop and one of his clergymen – “Celestinus Celestini MacGille-michael” [Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil], who appears to have

¹⁹ AT, at date.

²⁰ RMS, ii, no. 3136. The annexation incorporated the farthing land of “Fynvaccane” in Cowal, granted to Dunoon church by John Stewart of Ardgowan on 7 December 1402. Ibid.

²¹ ALI, no. 125. I am very grateful to David McOmish for helping with this translation.

²² See below, pp. 97–98.

²³ Parishes, 157, 184, 195; CPL Benedict XIII, 79.

²⁴ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 133.

²⁵ Pais. Reg. 129, 135, 137; RSS, vii, no. 341; NAS GD100/26.

²⁶ HP, iv, 162–163.

had powerful noble support in the form of the Lord of Lochawe.²⁷ As payment of tithes was “in kind”, the returns the bishop received were subject to the vagaries of the West Highland climate, which exposed the region to the possibility of poor harvest and the danger of famine.²⁸ They were also susceptible to the ravages of regional warfare: a petition regarding the church of Kilmallie on 30 April 1431 blamed its poverty upon the burden of episcopal dues and three years of warfare in the parish.²⁹ This petition, which predates the battle of Inverlochy in the summer of 1431, suggests that the widespread damage caused by ongoing strife in Lochaber was directly impacting upon ecclesiastical revenues.³⁰

There is no contemporary record of the method of collection of tithes. Andrew Barrell has noted that in the late fourteenth century, the bishop himself appears as sub-collector of papal annates in the diocese, although it seems most likely that this role would have been delegated to a subordinate, perhaps a rural dean if they were in operation.³¹ However, in 1908 an altogether more attractive claim was made by the folklorist Alexander Carmichael who asserted that it was the MacDhuinnshlèibhe (shortened *MacLea*, and anglicised as *Livingstone*) custodian of the *Bachull Mòr* of Mo Luóc who toured the diocese collecting tithes and other dues while carrying the crosier “at the sight of which all men were bound to pay him homage”.³² The role, which seems perfectly plausible, has strong parallels with the medieval role of the keeper of the *coigreach* (the staff of St Faelán, anglicised as *Fillan*), the *deòradh* or dewar of Glen Dochart, who utilised the veneration of his relic to enforce the use of secular law, for example when retrieving stolen cattle.³³ Carmichael claimed that the MicDhuinnshlèibhe custodians acted as chancellors of the cathedral, for

²⁷ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 243.

²⁸ A supplication in March 1466 referred to the “floods of water, especially in winter time” which rendered “some places in the dioceses of Dunkeld and Argyll” dangerous to many persons. *CSSR*, v, no. 1104. For more on tithes, see below, pp. 245–46.

²⁹ *CSSR*, iii, 181–182.

³⁰ For the warfare in Lochaber see M. Brown, “Regional Lordship in North-East Scotland: The Badenoch Stewarts, II. Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar”, *Northern Scotland* 16 (1996), 31–53, at 41, 45–46.

³¹ A.D.M. Barrell, “William de Grenlaw, papal collector in Scotland, and his account”, *IR* 42: 1 (1991), 3–18, at 10. Annates were dues payable by clergy who obtained a benefice via papal provision.

³² A. Carmichael, “The Barons of Bachuill”, *Celtic Review* 5 (1908–09), 356–375, at 363.

³³ For further discussion of the *deòradh* phenomenon see G. Márkus, “Dewars and relics in Scotland: some clarifications and questions”, *IR* 60: 2 (2009), 95–144; J. Stuart, “Historical Notices of St Fillan’s Crosier, and of the devotion of King Robert Bruce to St Fillan”, *PSAS* 12 (1876–77), 134–182; W. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane* (Perth, 1938) 58–82; S. Taylor, “The

which there is no surviving documented evidence. However, records of the office of the chancellor are sufficiently scarce before the sixteenth century as to leave open the possibility that individuals of the MacDhuinnshlèibhe kindred either held this position in the medieval period, or perhaps were assigned the duty under later chancellors. As a native of Lismore and a descendant of Clann Mhic Gille-Mhìcheil, one of the oldest ecclesiastical kindreds on the island, Carmichael's claims undoubtedly represent a strong local clan tradition.³⁴ If true, they add further support to the notion that the location of the see was chiefly determined by the widespread respect for the saint's cult, and, more practically, that the bishop's main source of income was closely tied to it.

The bishop's financial handicap was not compensated by his right to present his own candidates to ecclesiastical positions. All the statements regarding ecclesiastical patronage in Argyll indicate that it was dominated by lay nobility and that the bishop's rights were restricted. Patronage of the six simple canonries and prebends, with the sole exception of Kilberry in 1492, remained in the gift of the local nobility.³⁵ The bishop could not present candidates to the four cathedral dignitaries either. The treasurer-ship and chancellorship were described as belonging to an unnamed lay patron in petitions to the *Curia*, the latter by "right and laudable custom".³⁶ Although the patron is unidentified, it probably refers to the Stiùbhart Lord of Lorn, as after 1470 the Earl of Argyll controlled the patronage of both these offices in his capacity as Lord of Lorn.³⁷ It is possible, however, that the MacDubhghaill of Dunollie kindred, who continued to operate in

Cult of St Fillan in Scotland", in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, eds. T.R. Liszka and L.E.M. Walker (Dublin, 2001), 175–210, at 186.

³⁴ D.S. Thomson, "Alexander Carmichael", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com [accessed 20 June 2008], states that he was a descendent of an unknown bishop of Lismore "An t-Easbaig Bàn", 'the fair-haired bishop'. This is presumably the MacGille-Mhìcheil bishop referred to in the seventeenth-century account. See above, p. 54; D. Black, "Alexander Carmichael: The Influence of Lismore", in *The Life and Legacy of Alexander Carmichael*, ed. Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart (Port of Ness, 2008), 40–44. For allegations that Carmichael was a reconstructionist who manipulated his material, see D. Meek, "Faking the 'True Gael'? *Carmina Gadelica* and the beginning of Modern Gaelic Scholarship", *Aiste* 1 (2007), 76–106; D. Meek, "Alexander Carmichael and 'Celtic Christianity'", in *The Life and Legacy of Alexander Carmichael*, 82–95.

³⁵ CSSR, i, 258–259; ii, 177–178, 188–189; iv, nos. 309, 445; CPL, vii, 266; viii, 468, 607; ix, 13; CPL Clement VII, 189; ALI, no. 125. Most of the prebendaries were from Clann Chaimbeul, which implies that Kilmartin remained in lay patronage after annexation. Appendix A, nos. 142–150.

³⁶ CSSR, i, 188; ii, 89–90; v, no. 418.

³⁷ OPS, 2: 1, 111, 161.

Lorn as the local agents of the Stiùbhart lordship, may have exercised the patronage in their name. Certainly this was the case with the patronage of the precentorship. Before 1371 it pertained to the prior of Ardochattan, but by 4 January 1451 it had been given by the Stiùbhart lords to Eoin mac Ailein ["John Allanson"] the MacDubhghaill clan chief of Dunollie.³⁸ The deanery also normally resided in lay patronage: in June 1393, five years after the Stiùbhart takeover of the lordship of Lorn, "Robert Senescalli" [Stewart], Earl of Fife was named as lay patron, and it was described as being in lay patronage in 1420; from 1470 it also passed to the Earl of Argyll as Lord of Lorn and in 1496 it was said to be in lay patronage by "ancient custom".³⁹ It was, for a brief period between 1432 and 1470 an elective dignity, though, technically, it still did not pertain to the bishop, but to the canons of the cathedral chapter that elected him.⁴⁰

It is a remarkable fact that the bishop of Argyll is never described as the official patron of any of the rectories in the diocese, which instead almost always resided with appropriating religious institutions or the local clan chiefs. There is some reference to the patronage of approximately 43 of the 48 churches in the diocese before 1507, and of these, at least 35 lay outside of the bishop's gift. The majority, numbering 24, were in lay patronage, with 11 annexed to various religious institutions.⁴¹ The Lord of the Isles was the largest lay patron in the diocese; he is explicitly named as lay patron for ten churches in Kintyre and Morvern before the forfeiture in 1493, but was probably also the patron of six more churches: four in Morvern over which the Crown exercised patronage during the sixteenth century, and another two (Kilkivan and Glenelg), which were described as residing in lay patronage in the fifteenth century.⁴² Of the remaining eight benefices, six pertained to the lords of Lochawe (later earls of Argyll) of

³⁸ Patronage may have formed part of the gift of offices and land in Lorn given ten days earlier. *CPP*, 584; *CSSR*, ii, 112; v, no. 403; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 94; S. Boardman, "The Tale of Leper John and the Campbell Acquisition of Lorn", in *Alba: Celtic Scotland*, 219–247, at 221, 233.

³⁹ *CPL Clement VII*, 192–193; *CSSR*, i, 179–180; *HMC*, Fourth Report, 474, nos. 12, 13; *CPL*, xvii, part II, no. 51; MacGregor, "Church and culture", 27–28, n. 122.

⁴⁰ The dean, however, was alone in taking an oath of fidelity to the bishop. Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 62–63; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 122. *CPL Clement VII*, 143; *CSSR*, v, nos. 1126, 1464, 1470; *CPL*, xii, 473, 805.

⁴¹ Appendix A, *passim*. These figures are partially based upon sixteenth-century presentations to benefices in the diocese made by the crown, and upon the premise that these rights had formerly pertained to the Lord of the Isles.

⁴² The ten were Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, Kilblane, Kilchousland, Kilmichael, Kilberry, Kilmonivaig, Kilcolmkill in Morvern, Eilean Fhionain, Ardnamurchan and Arisaig. The four additional crown benefices were Kilmallie, Killintag, Eilean Munde and Knoydart.

Clann Chaimbeul and one each to the Stewart overlords of Cowal and the Scrymgeour barons of Glassary.⁴³ Patronage of the vicarages in the diocese is much harder to determine, as the evidence is even more fragmentary than it is for the rectories. However, aside from one exception, all the surviving evidence shows either a royal or lay patron or an appropriating religious institution as the awarding body.⁴⁴ The overall impression one derives is of a diocese where the power to employ clergy resided firmly in the hands of the laity rather than its bishop.

Yet this might not be the end of the story. In the Gaelic dioceses in Ulster and Western Ireland, where the bishop's income was similarly supported by the quadripartition or tripartition of tithes, he was also entitled to collate the vicars of churches whose rectories were in lay patronage. It was an unusual practice, and differed from the norm elsewhere in Ireland and England, where the vicarage was "carved out" of the rectory and usually remained with the patron or rector.⁴⁵ Whether this principle applied in Argyll is unconfirmed; the evidence from neighbouring Sodor – where the bishop received a third of all parochial tithes – would suggest it was not, as a petition in 1405 asserted that rectors in Sodor "regularly present to the vicarages of their churches" (mirroring the practice at Glassary) and that the bishop had "few benefices in his collation".⁴⁶ Yet it is certainly true that there were many other unappropriated churches in lay patronage with their own rector and vicar.⁴⁷ As we will see, disputes centring on the patronage of certain vicarages in the diocese were a recurring theme in the fifteenth century.

James V claimed that the poverty of the see of Argyll made it unpopular among aspiring clerics, and indeed, throughout the entire Middle Ages it was only once ever contested, in 1342.⁴⁸ The see also had a long association

⁴³ The six churches pertaining to Clann Chaimbeul were mostly annexed to Kilmun Collegiate Church and included Kilmun itself, as well as Lochgoilhead, Kilmartin, Kilmelfort, Glenorchy and Inveraray. The Stewarts were patrons of Kilmodan, but were also patrons of Kilberry in 1396, and Dunoon before 1453.

⁴⁴ There are 19 references altogether. The exception is the rector of Glassary, who had the right to present to the vicarage in 1429. *CSSR*, iii, 16–17. There are another 17 vicarages for which the patronage remains unknown.

⁴⁵ K.W. Nicholls, "Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses", *JRSAI* 101 (1971), 53–84, at 54, 56; Simms, "Frontiers in the Irish Church", 190. An abortive attempt was also made to introduce this system in the diocese of Dunblane in 1237. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 6–7, 77, 90.

⁴⁶ *CPP*, i, 621.

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 235–36 and n. 11.

⁴⁸ *James V Letters*, 364.

with the Dominican order, and the succession of bishops between the mid-thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries belonged to the order. This was probably grounded in the Blackfriars' commitment to mendicancy and education, which ensured the bishopric received a highly-trained clergy to watch over its affairs, regardless of its poverty. The Dominicans were also committed to missionary activity and combating heresy, and there is a mid-thirteenth-century *exempla* of demonic possession in the isles of Scotland (*insulae Scocie*) which may imply that some within the order did perceive the western coast as a physically remote and spiritually strange region. However, the abundance of monumental crosses and churches scattered through Argyll and Sodor would loudly proclaim to any visitors that this was a Catholic country.⁴⁹ In any case, Dominican bishops such as "Laurence de Ergadia" and Andrew were, like Màrtainn of Argyll, probably local men who were unlikely to have regarded the western seaboard of Scotland as 'missionary' territory.

The Dominican connection might strengthen the impression that the see's poverty meant it was undesirable to all but the most committed religious, yet if we look at those who held the post in the later medieval period we can see that this was not the case. All of the late medieval bishops were well-connected, literate churchmen who attended university and were literate in Latin. Eoin mac Dhubhghaill ["John Dugaldi"], was elected by the chapter in 1387 and was the first secular bishop to hold the see of Argyll in over 100 years. Already a scholar of canon law in 1350, he described himself as "formerly the pope's scholar" when as archdeacon of Argyll he was in the Roman court in July 1366, and was apparently conversant in Gaelic and Scots, as well as Latin; by the time of his elevation to the see he was a Bachelor of Decrees.⁵⁰ His patronymic, together with his long service in Argyll's diocesan government, implies that he belonged to the MacDhubhghaill ruling lineage, who would soon lose their status as lords of Lorn in 1388. He boasted of his trilingualism to gain papal favour, but it could also reflect an earlier association with Eoin *Gallda*, the last MacDhubhghaill Lord of Lorn, and it is not inconceivable

⁴⁹ A. Ross, "Incubi in the Isles in the Thirteenth Century", *IR* 13:1 (1962), 108–109; Boardman, *Campbells*, 119; J.M. Howe, "The Conversion of the Physical World: the Creation of a Christian Landscape" in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Muldoon (Gainesville, 1997), 63–78.

⁵⁰ He requested a canonry of Dunkeld, arguing that it was a day's journey from Argyll and that he could know the languages and idioms of both dioceses and spoke them well. *CPP*, 530; *CPL Clement VII*, 122.

that Eoin mac Dhubhghaill may have belonged to his retinue during his exile in England.

He was succeeded by “Bean Johannis Andree” (Beathán mac Eoin mac Ghill-Anndrais, also surnamed “Macgilleaus” [MacGill-Anndrais]), the dean of Argyll, who, like his predecessor, was elected by the chapter to the see and served between 1397 and 1411 x 1420.⁵¹ His background is unknown, but his surname suggests that he was either from Argyll or Ross.⁵² In one of his earliest appearances in the historical record, in January 1389, he is found associated with Dòmhnall [Donald], Lord of the Isles, and is described as his chaplain and of noble birth, but later in June 1393 he is described as King Robert III’s chaplain.⁵³ He was probably personally connected with Dòmhnall, for Beathán was also the rector of Kilmonivaig, an important church in Clann Dòmhnail patronage.⁵⁴ The description of him as the king’s chaplain is doubtless attributable to the influence of the king’s brother Robert (or Raibeart), Earl of Fife, who was acting as patron of the deanery of Argyll at this time following the Stiùbhart takeover of Lorn in 1388.⁵⁵ It was always beneficial for a petitioner to include his supplication in a bundle of petitions sent by some powerful patron, particularly if he was, like Beathán, a non-graduate.⁵⁶ He did attend university, for on 13 November 1388 he claimed to be studying canon law at Paris, but he would never profess to hold a degree in any of his later petitions to Avignon.⁵⁷

The first two secular bishops of the later medieval period were therefore both ‘in-house’ appointments, clerics who had already served in the diocese and cathedral church. They would have had a good idea of the strengths and weaknesses of the diocese, any particular problems that required correction and an appreciation of the local political landscape, particularly given their apparent kin and personal ties to the lords of Lorn.

⁵¹ For his name see below, p. 110, and n. 108.

⁵² See below, pp. 131–32.

⁵³ *CPP*, 573; *CPL Clement VII*, 192–193.

⁵⁴ Appendix A, no. 395.

⁵⁵ *CPL Clement VII*, 192–193. There are similar examples of use of the term ‘chaplain’ in letters associated with the Earl of Fife, including Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein, who is described as “chaplain of the earl of Fife” when asking for the archdeaconry of Argyll on 23 December 1390. See above, p. 58. There are doubts as to whether these terms should be interpreted literally. See Barrell, *Papacy*, 88.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 86, 88.

⁵⁷ *CPP*, 573. He does not feature in *AUP*, which lists matriculants and graduates at Paris University.

As men of local birth, they were also likely to be resident in the diocese most of the year.

The origins of Finlay of Albany, bishop from 1420 until 1425, are also obscure, but there is evidence that he too shared close blood and kin ties with the ruling secular elite. It is uncertain whether he was a Gaelic speaker himself, but he had genuinely close links to the Albany Stewart kindred who controlled much of the Central Highlands of Gaelic Scotland at this time, and is variously described as chaplain and confessor to that kindred's chief leader, Robert, Earl of Fife, who was later Duke of Albany and Governor of Scotland.⁵⁸ He also shared ties of kinship with Clann Chaimbeul through "Patrick de Lorne", canon of Cambuskenneth and uncle to Master Dubhghall of Lochawe, the future archdeacon of Argyll (1437–1453) and a leading Clann Chaimbeul cleric in the service of Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe, who was in turn the son-in-law and ally of Robert, Duke of Albany.⁵⁹ The appointment of Finlay (or Gaelic Fionnlagh) was doubtless largely attributable to these kin and personal relationships with the Albany Stewarts and Clann Chaimbeul, though there was also continuity from an ecclesiastical perspective – like his predecessors he was elected by the chapter, but as a Dominican, his election resurrected the traditional association of the bishopric of Lismore with the order, and may have helped prompt renewed interest amongst the lay nobility, particularly Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Lachlainn of Strathlachlan, in the mendicant orders.⁶⁰ Therefore, even before his provision to the see on 31 January 1420, Finlay could already draw upon ecclesiastical tradition and a well of local friendly support to aid his governance of the diocese.

Finlay is chiefly known to history for the events of May 1425, when he was accused of supporting a major rebellion against King James I of

⁵⁸ He is described as chaplain to the Earl of Fife on 5 July 1396; and as his confessor on 4 November 1416 and 18 Dec 1417. Watt, *Graduates*, 4–5. For the Duke of Albany's territorial lordships in Gaelic Scotland, see S. Boardman, "The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court", in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*, eds. D. Broun and M. MacGregor (Glasgow, 2009), 83–109, at 101, 108.

⁵⁹ For Dubhghall of Lochawe's origins, see below, p. 129 and n. 96. For the relationship between Cailean and Donnchadh, lords of Lochawe, with the Albany Stewarts, see Boardman, *Campbells*, 104, 109–110, 118, 120–121, 123–124.

⁶⁰ *Fasti*, 36; Watt, *Graduates*, 4–5. The association of Clann Chaimbeul with the Carmelites of Tullilum is perhaps even more prominent. See AT, charters dated 1 April 1387, 21 March 1431; 1432, 7 May 1449; *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, 163, 172, 178, 179; Boardman, *Campbells*, 118–120, 32 and n. 76.

Scotland on behalf of his Albany Stewart kinsmen.⁶¹ Although his exact role in this remains unclear, the episode blighted an otherwise impressive ecclesiastical career. He was well educated, with a bachelor degree in Theology, and by 1409 was already a notable ecclesiastical figure in the Scottish Church, serving in his capacity as vicar-general of the Dominican order in Scotland and head of the friary of Ayr.⁶² His greatest achievement was bringing an end to Scotland's schism with Rome. He attended the Council of Constance of 1414, probably in an unofficial capacity under the direction of Governor Albany, but in 1416 he was sent as the council's own ambassador to Scotland to exhort the clergy and laity to bring an end to the schism. He fulfilled the task at a great convocation of clergy, peoples and nobles in front of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews.⁶³ He was subsequently chosen as papal nuncio to receive Scotland's submission to the new pope on 1 March 1418.⁶⁴ Finlay was a cleric of good standing both in the kingdom and in Rome, so the provision of such a prized figure to the see of Argyll in January 1420 undoubtedly represented a boost for the prestige of the bishopric.

Finlay was succeeded by George Lauder (1427–1473 × 1475) from the diocese of St Andrews. Unlike the three previous incumbents, he was a Lowlander with no previous attachment to the diocese whatsoever. Furthermore, he was not elected, but was directly appointed by provision of Pope Martin V on 26 May 1427, probably at the behest of his kinsman, James I.⁶⁵ The manner of his appointment marked a break with the earlier custom to select men who had connections to the see or the local nobility, and may be seen politically as representing James I's determination to stamp his authority over a region with close affinities to the Albany Stewarts. George did, however, belong to one of the most powerful ecclesiastical families in the fifteenth-century kingdom, the Lauders, who figured strongly in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, so from a wider Scottish ecclesiastical perspective his selection could be regarded as unremarkable.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 245; M. Brown, *James I* (East Linton, 1994), 64–65.

⁶² Watt, *Graduates*, 4–5.

⁶³ A.J. Maitland, "The Beginnings of St Andrews University", *SHR* 8 (1910), 333–360, at 350; Watt, *Graduates*, 5.

⁶⁴ *CPL*, vii, 6.

⁶⁵ Dowden, *Bishops*, 386, describes Lauder as "*consanguineus*" with the king, which he translates as 'cousin', but 'kinsman' is a more accurate translation. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 241, claims that Lauder was "elected" in c. 1427, but his failure to provide a precise date means this must be considered doubtful.

⁶⁶ D. Shaw, "The Ecclesiastical Members of the Lauder Family in the Fifteenth Century", *RSCHS* 11 (1955), 160–175, ignores Bishop George Lauder entirely.

George's precise origins have been shrouded in doubt which means that we do not know the exact nature of his relationship with the other family members. One family history asserted that he was a brother of William and Alexander Lauder, bishops of Glasgow (1408–1425) and Dunkeld (1440) respectively, but cited no proof for this.⁶⁷ However, the two benefices which he held before his provision to Argyll support the belief that George was an individual of some significance within the Lauder family. He succeeded Edward Lauder, an illegitimate son of Allan Lauder of Hatton, in the perpetual vicarage of Crail, and had possessed the mastership of the hospital of St Leonard, near Peebles, before 25 July 1427.⁶⁸ The latter office provides the best clue as to his parentage, for just two years earlier it was held by an unnamed son of Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass.⁶⁹ If this was George, then the king's decision to reward him with a promotion becomes obvious, for his father and elder brother William, bishop of Glasgow, had proved to be staunch supporters of the king throughout his exile and during the destruction of the Albany Stewarts.⁷⁰ George Lauder's episcopate, stretching over 47 years, was by far the longest of any of the late medieval bishops of Argyll and easily the most controversial. Not only was he physically assaulted by members of his cathedral chapter on Lismore, but he spent the last decade of his episcopate residing in Dumbarton and Dunoon on the Firth of Clyde.⁷¹

His successor, Raibeart MacCòmbaich [Robert Colquhoun] (1475–1496), was the son of Eoin MacCòmbaich, Lord of Luss, and the prebend of which he was in possession together with the rectory of Kippen on 27 October 1466, when he matriculated at Glasgow University.⁷² The

⁶⁷ C.A.B. Lawder, *The Lawders of the Bass and their Descendants* (Belfast, 1914), 27, 32, also suggested that George may have been the son of a second marriage. This would explain the age difference with Bishop William, who died in 1425. This work also claimed that George was a great-grandson of Cailean Caimbeul of Lochawe via a marriage between a daughter named "Alice" or "Elizabeth" to Alan Lauder of Halton (*Ibid.*, sheet I), which is also referred to in *Notes on Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder*, ed. J. Young (Glasgow, 1884), appendix 1, and appendix 2, p. 40.

⁶⁸ Edward Lauder was still in possession of the vicarage of Crail on 26 October 1422, and George had resigned the benefice before 28 July 1427. For Edward see *CSSR*, i, 202, 207, 233–234, 288–289, 291, 293, 311; ii, 159; *RMS*, ii, nos. 84, 94.

⁶⁹ At Peebles in 1425 "Dominus Robertus de Lawdre", knight, father of the master of the Hospital of St Leonard, acknowledged payment of an annual pension on behalf of his son. *ER*, iv, 392; R. Renwick, *Peebles: Burgh and Parish in Early History* (Peebles, 1903), 40.

⁷⁰ The Lauders figured prominently on the king's council in 1424 following his release. Brown, *James I*, 27, 29, 47, 51, 53, 54, 57, 59.

⁷¹ *Fasti*, 36. For Lauder's residency in Dumbarton, see below, pp. 80, 82, 94.

⁷² *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 74–75, 212–213.

circumstances of his acquisition of the bishopric appear, initially at least, difficult to gauge. His appointment on 24 April 1475 was by papal provision, and like George Lauder, it did not involve an election.⁷³ There is no sign of royal recommendation or initiative either, though the absence of litigation probably indicates tacit royal approval.⁷⁴ There is nothing that establishes a connection with Lismore's chapter or the lordship of Lorn (now under Clann Chaimbeul power) that would help explain his appointment to the see.⁷⁵ The answer probably centres upon the residency of Bishop Lauder at Dumbarton, for an instrument of 14 April 1472 records Raibeart MacCòmbaich ["Robert Culquhoun"], rector of Luss and Kippen, performing duties for Bishop Lauder in his administration of the diocese.⁷⁶ Here the growing regional influence of Raibeart's father Eoin of Luss would prove decisive. In 1471 he was made sheriff of Dumbarton and three years later in 1474 he was granted the custodianship of its castle for life, as well as the office of grand chamberlain. In addition, he was acting as collector of the customs in the burgh.⁷⁷ His star was in ascendancy at precisely the same time as the death of Bishop Lauder, which must have occurred sometime between 19 May 1473 and Raibeart's provision on 24 April 1475.⁷⁸ As the royal representative in the burgh he was in the ideal situation to actively support his son's petition for the bishopric.

Bishop MacCòmbaich was succeeded by another cleric from neighbouring Glasgow diocese, David Hamilton (1497–1522 × 1523), an illegitimate son of James, Lord Hamilton, and half-brother of James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran.⁷⁹ On 3 April 1497 he received provision to the vacant see of Argyll, void by the death of Raibeart, but specially reserved to the Apostolic See.⁸⁰ Although well educated, he was hardly an ideal candidate from an ecclesiastical perspective, for at 26 years old he was too young to be a bishop, and required dispensations for defect of age and of birth at the time of his provision. He had also yet to enter holy orders. On the

⁷³ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, ii, 197; *CPL*, xiii, 417.

⁷⁴ In March 1466 a supplication was issued by James III on behalf of several clergy, including one "Robert Colquhoun", thus indicating ties at court. Dated 26 March 1466. *CSSR*, v, no. 1107.

⁷⁵ Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 547. Raibeart was a Gael, but from the Lennox, not Argyll.

⁷⁶ NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fol. 9v.

⁷⁷ *ER*, viii, pp. lxxi, 8, 9, 199, 317, 467, 548; J. Irving, *The Book of Dunbartonshire*, 3 vols. (London and Edinburgh, 1879), ii, 246.

⁷⁸ NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fol. 13v; *CPL*, xiii, 417.

⁷⁹ Dowden, *Bishops*, 387–388; *CPL*, xvii, part I, no. 58.

⁸⁰ *CPL*, xvii, part I, no. 55.

day after his provision he obtained a faculty to receive consecration from any bishop of his choice, and on 3 January 1498 he paid for his common services in part or whole at the *Curia*.⁸¹ He was, moreover, absent from Scotland for the first two to three years after his provision, and is found instead studying abroad in Paris.⁸² This was another outside appointment, and again there is no evidence of any previous association with Argyll or the local Church. Admittedly, there is no hint of royal involvement in his provision to the see, but his later close association with James IV almost certainly indicates that he owed his appointment to the king, who was actively establishing royal authority in the west at this time.⁸³

Generally, the late medieval bishopric was staffed by men of a decent calibre by contemporary standards. There is little evidence that the poverty of the see had a particularly detrimental impact upon the quality of the bishops, all of whom were university-educated and at least four of whom had studied abroad. This is broadly in line with the general pattern elsewhere in Scotland and contrasts with the situation in neighbouring Sodor, where the surviving evidence for university training among its late medieval bishops is more limited before the early sixteenth century.⁸⁴ Two of Argyll's bishops stand out as displaying especial ambition and capability: Finlay of Albany and David Hamilton. Both of these figures travelled in pursuit of foreign education and were entrusted with important responsibilities by the ruling government. However, as we will discover, it was George Lauder who proved the most impressive character, displaying considerable fortitude in his assertion of episcopal rights in the teeth of opposition from the clan chiefs.

As regards the appointment of the bishops, the abandonment of the system of election after 1427 is, in a judicial sense, unremarkable. By the mid-fourteenth century the papal right to provide was in the process of superseding the practice of election of bishops by their cathedral chapter,⁸⁵

⁸¹ In his provision he is described as being "marked with clerical character only", which may suggest he had received the tonsure. *CPL*, xvii, nos. 55, 56, 57, 58; W.M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland 1400-1875* (Rome, 1876-77), i, 160; "Tonsure" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html [accessed 9 January 2009].

⁸² *ER*, xi, 372.

⁸³ N. MacDougall, "Achilles' Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Stewart Kings, 1449-1507", in *Alba: Celtic Scotland*, 248-275, at 268.

⁸⁴ Isla Woodman, "Education and Episcopacy: The Universities of Scotland in the Fifteenth Century", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of St Andrews, 2011), 103, 219-224.

⁸⁵ Barrell, *Papacy*, 191; J. Dowden, "The Appointment of Bishops in Scotland during the Medieval Period", *SHR* 7 (1909-10), 1-20, at 11.

and in Argyll's case the see was reserved to the pope from 1387 onwards.⁸⁶ However, those elected by Argyll's chapter were individuals either already associated with the cathedral chapter, or connected with the magnates of the diocese. The provision of George Lauder, a man with no social or political connections, demonstrates the extent to which the Crown was able to intervene in Argyll's affairs during the 1420s. This is more reflective of the increasing degree to which the province was figuring in the minds of those in power, rather than the influence of the system of papal provisions on the bishopric. Papal provisions made an impact on the personnel of the Argyll clergy, but at a lower level, such as the dignities, where litigation was fierce. It did not affect the bishopric and fifteenth-century bishops of Argyll all owed their appointment to recommendation by the king or governor.

Much more information survives concerning the bishops of Argyll than the cathedral seat at Lismore. However, what little is known suggests that Lismore, while always the *de jure* cathedral church of the diocese, ceased to function as the principal seat of governance of the bishops from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. The few historical references which mention Lismore Cathedral paint a very negative picture. A papal letter on 23 February 1411, issued in response to a petition by the bishop, stated that on account of wars, famines and plagues raging in those parts, the church of Argyll (Lismore Cathedral) was lacking in "jewels, ecclesiastical ornaments, books and other necessities" and required "costly repairs".⁸⁷ In April 1512 James IV claimed that it was little visited for many centuries by the bishops or canons and presently lay deserted and "fallen into ruin".⁸⁸ These were, however, *ex parte* statements and cannot be taken at face value. The bishop in 1411, Beathán MacGill-Anndrais, had been excommunicated by the papacy for his failure to pay annates due to the *Curia* and the cathedral supplied a focus for his claims of dire poverty and to excuse his behaviour to the pope. James IV, meanwhile, was motivated by political considerations; he wanted to move the cathedral to Saddell Abbey as part of his wider scheme to impose taxation upon Kintyre and to curb any resistance in this region of Clann Dòmhnail lordship. He even used similar language to misleadingly justify that monastery's suppression stating that "the house of Sadaguil... has within living memory seen no

⁸⁶ Barrell, *Papacy*, 197; *CPL*, ii, 148; *CPL Clement VII*, 122; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 74; Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, 241.

⁸⁷ *HP*, iv, 159–161.

⁸⁸ *James IV Letters*, 245–246.

monastic life and has fallen to the use of laymen".⁸⁹ However, even though the bishop, the chapter and an episcopal residence (Achadun Castle) are all recorded on Lismore in August 1452, the proof for the functioning of the cathedral (or indeed the episcopal residence) both before and after this date is remarkably limited.⁹⁰

Most references in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documentary sources are usually in the form of penalty clauses in indentures stipulating payment towards the fabric of the cathedral, but the building of a "massive stone pulpitum" in the cathedral in the late medieval period, possibly even in the early sixteenth century, indicates that work was still continuing to maintain the church.⁹¹ This is confirmed by the only substantial and objective contemporary reference that survives, a notarial instrument recording the investiture of the new archdeacon of Lismore on the Sunday morning of 30 July 1531:

The Lord's Day, 30th July, 1531. Sir Adam Sym, priest, and procurator of John Makcaw, clerk and familiar servitor of James the Fifth, King of Scots, in the presence of Dermit Makhecardych, vicar or curate of the cathedral church of Lesmore, at the high altar thereof, the dean and other canons of the church not being then present, presented to him a letter of provision, with the round seal of Henry the bishop [of Galloway] and one of the judges and executors of the Apostolic Brief of Clement the Seventh on certain benefices specially granted to the king: which Dermit received and gave to the notary to read and then asked it back: and after, by delivery of a silver chalice gilt, missal book, key of the door, and ornaments of the high altar, gave investiture to the archidiaconate of the said cathedral church of Lesmore, with fruits, rents, etc., to the said Sir Adam Sym, priest, as procurator for the said John Makcaw, and assigned him a stall in the choir and place in the chapter, receiving the oath from the said Adam for obeying the statutes of the said church, etc., And thereafter the said vicar warned the parishioners, assembled in time of divine service, in their mother tongue, the Irish speech, and other having interest, to answer and obey the said John Makcaw in fruits, rents, etc.⁹²

This shows that the church was still in normal use and far from ruinous, while the assignment of "a stall in the choir" and the extraction of an oath

⁸⁹ Ibid., 93–94; Brown, "Abbey of Saddell", 136–137.

⁹⁰ Archaeological evidence at Achadun shows little sign of occupation after c. 1400. Turner, "Bishops of Argyll", 651.

⁹¹ Examples occur on 15 November 1314, 27 September 1451, 13 April 1470 and 1 June 1497. See *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, 153, 173; AT, at date; *Lamont Papers*, no. 73; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, no. 267.

⁹² McRoberts, "An Unnoticed Lismore Document", 80–81.

for “obeying the statutes” would indicate, at least ostensibly, the continued operation of a cathedral chapter at Lismore. However, none of the dignitaries or canons of the chapter were themselves present, which casts doubt as to its actual functioning and may support the notion that non-residency had become the norm. The apparent lack of a common chapter fund to encourage residence may have been a less pressing issue in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries because the cathedral clergy were composed of local men, but it is legitimate to conjecture that the introduction into the chapter of non-local clergy – who were often occupied with duties elsewhere – during the fifteenth century would have had a detrimental effect upon the numbers of resident canons at Lismore. In the sixteenth century Seumas MacGriogair [James MacGregor] and his son Dubhghall served respectively as dean (1514–1551) and chancellor of Argyll (1558–1576) whilst maintaining continuous possession of the vicarage of Fortingall in Glen Lyon throughout their lives.⁹³ Judging from the everyday chronicle accounts, it is obvious that both father and son remained principally attached to the ancestral home of their lineage, ministering to their local parishioners in Fortingall, and were infrequent visitors to Lismore.⁹⁴ Non-resident canons in England employed proctors to represent them in chapter, and one would assume that their Argyll colleagues did the same, probably assigning their duties to a local substitute, perhaps the vicar of Lismore named in the 1531 document. The overall impression is, as McRoberts argues, one of a rural parish church rather than a flourishing cathedral establishment.⁹⁵

⁹³ Assuming that he succeeded after the death of the last vicar of Fortingall in 1520 or 1521, Seumas MacGriogair held the vicarage for 23 years of his 37 year charge as dean. Dubhghall was possibly curate in 1532, but was certainly vicar by 19 May 1544, a position which he held until his death. *BBT*, 120; GD 112/24 no. 4.

⁹⁴ MacGregor, “Fortingall”, 36, 59–61, 75, n. 5. Ecclesiastics who feature in the two chronicles tended to be either parochial clergy from Breadalbane or Dunkeld Cathedral clergy. D. Gregory, “Short Chronicle, being chiefly an Obituary relating to the Highlands, and compiled early in the Sixteenth Century. By James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore”, *Archaeologica Scotica or Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 3 (1831), 317–329, at 325–328; *BBT*, pp. viii, 123, 128. There was also a curate at Fortingall in this period – William Drummond. See D.E. Meek, “The Scots-Gaelic Scribes of Late Medieval Perthshire: An overview of the orthography and contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore”, in *Stewart Style, 1513–1542: essays on the Court of James V*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton, 1996), 254–272, at 257.

⁹⁵ McRoberts, “An Unnoticed Lismore Document”, 81. For England, see Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons Serving God*, 87–113. The collation of the new prebendary of Glassary on 8 February 1500 also directed that the incumbent be provided with “a stall in the choir and his due place in the chapter”. *HP*, ii, 201.

There is instead substantial evidence that, from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, the bishops resided in either Dunoon or the burgh of Dumbarton. The first signs appear in a series of grants to the bishop by Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe on 26 May 1447, one of which gave the bishop liberty to cut down trees in any forest pertaining to his lordship to “serve for the bishop’s building”.⁹⁶ The purpose of this building was left unspecified but later references to the bishop’s tenement in Dunoon suggest this to be the likeliest candidate.⁹⁷ We have already noted the king donated the church of Dunoon with its tithes and kirklands to the bishop in October 1453, but he followed this with a grant in c. 1455 of the royal custodianship of Dunoon Castle for the lifetime of the king and for which the bishop rendered accounts for the next five years.⁹⁸ On 29 April 1462 the bishop applied for an indult to reside outside of his diocese, preferably in Glasgow, within two days’ ride of the diocese.⁹⁹ Dumbarton became the preferred site of residence during the remainder of Lauder’s episcopate, and his episcopal palace (*palacium*) at Dumbarton is referred to in an instrument of 14 April 1472.¹⁰⁰ Dunoon parish church appears to have functioned as a pro-cathedral and the ecclesiastical headquarters of the diocesan administration, and Lauder presided over an episcopal synod in the “parish church of St Mary the Virgin of Dunnown” on 19 May 1473.¹⁰¹ It probably continued in this role after Lauder’s death as his successor, Bishop MacCòmbaich, issued a charter concerning the archdeaconry from Dunoon on 2 December 1479, while some of his books were collected from here following his own death in c. 1496.¹⁰² He was probably already residing in the “tenement of the bishop of Lismore” referred to in a later charter of 18 June 1536.¹⁰³ In February 1506 a further royal grant concern-

⁹⁶ AT, at date. He also received fishing rights in nearby Loch Eck and the River Eachaig.

⁹⁷ See below.

⁹⁸ See above, p. 65; *ER*, vi, 48, 427–428, 535–536, 630–632. After the king’s death, the custodianship formed part of the patrimony of Prince James. *APS*, ii, 187. The annexation of Dunoon church received papal confirmation on 26 June 1465. *CSSR*, v, no. 1017.

⁹⁹ *CSSR*, v, no. 903.

¹⁰⁰ NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, f. 9v. The archdeacon perhaps also held a tenement here. See *Glas. Reg.*, ii, 491.

¹⁰¹ Lauder had earlier issued an instrument of collation there on 25 September 1471. NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fols. 6v, 13v.

¹⁰² *Glas. Reg.*, ii, 439. See below, p. 230. The bishop also provided materials for the construction of the king’s “rowbarge” at Dumbarton in 1494 before the latter’s expedition to Mingary Castle in Ardnamurchan. *TA*, i, 246; MacDougall, *James IV*, 105, 115.

¹⁰³ AT, at date. A recent archaeological investigation overlooked this entry. C. Shaw, “Bishop’s Palace, Dunoon”, project 1386 (Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division, 2002).

ing the lands of Dunoon was made to the bishop and his tenants, who received licence to take “shrubs, peat and turfs (*hadir, petis et turffis*) from all the moors and marshes (*moris et marresiis*) in the lands and lordship of Cowal”.¹⁰⁴ The grants made by Donnchadh Caimbeul and the Crown were clearly intended to provide financial and material sustenance for the bishop and his household. A single reference to the churchlands of Lismore in 1518 – when the Earl of Argyll agreed to pay Bishop Hamilton the last three years’ profits and duties from the lands of Lismore – suggests they had fallen entirely under the power of Clann Chaimbeul, and thereby subject to potential exploitation and siphoning-off of rents.¹⁰⁵ Major ecclesiastical decisions and meetings continued to take place in Dunoon, and most of the few recorded appearances of the bishop and/or members of the cathedral chapter during the sixteenth century occurred there, which suggests that it was considered the natural meeting place for ecclesiastical business.¹⁰⁶ The existence of a consistory court in Dunoon may be inferred from a marriage contract of 27 September 1548 which was to be registered in the “official books of Denoone”.¹⁰⁷ This doubtless referred to the bishop’s official, who was delegated jurisdictional authority over the laity and for whom the registration of marriages was everyday business.¹⁰⁸ Two charters issued by the bishop at Dunoon on 6 and 16 May 1556 were witnessed by no less than five and six senior members of the chapter respectively; the description of “our town of Dunnoune” in the former instance underlines Dunoon’s status as the established diocesan headquarters during the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and long before the Reformation period.¹⁰⁹

From political, economic and logistical perspectives, a location on the Firth of Clyde made far more sense than residency on Lismore. All the

¹⁰⁴ *RMS*, ii, no. 2938.

¹⁰⁵ *ADC 1501–1554*, 131.

¹⁰⁶ Recorded instances occur on 15 October 1485 (bishop); 30 July 1501 (chancellor and precentor); 24 June 1502 (chancellor and canon); 30 July 1511 (chancellor and precentor); 6 May 1545 (precentor, canon and treasurer). See *AT*, at dates.

¹⁰⁷ *Lamont Papers*, no. 182.

¹⁰⁸ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 54–60. A charter of 3 November 1540 states that the sheriff courts of Argyll were also held here. *Lamont Papers*, no. 51.

¹⁰⁹ *AT*, at dates. Besides the bishop, the charters were witnessed by the archdeacon, precentor, treasurer, chancellor and at least four individual canons. For further discussion of post-Reformation bishops at Dunoon, see A. MacLean, *Dunoon of Old* (Dunoon, 1980), chap. 7; J. Reid-Baxter, “Mr Andrew Boyd (1567–1636), A Neo-Stoic Bishop of Argyll and his Writings”, in *Sixteenth Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, eds. J. Goodare and A.A. MacDonald (Leiden, 2008), 395–425, at 406, 423–424.

fifteenth-century bishops were politically aligned with the Stewart Crown and looked to it for patronage and justice, so it was sensible that they should choose to relocate in Cowal, a territory which had been incorporated in the Stewart lordship since the thirteenth century and in which the bishopric could fully exploit its recent endowments of property and rights.¹¹⁰ All the evidence indicates that this took place during the mid-fifteenth century; there is nothing to suggest that bishops MacGill-Anndrais and Finlay of Albany resided in the Firth of Clyde region, though given their connections with the Stewarts, and the absence of evidence for their residency at Lismore, one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that they may have done so. The Firth of Clyde was also enjoying a remarkable rate of economic growth on the back of the herring trade during the later fifteenth century and Stephen Boardman has highlighted how this generated a southwards drift in the lordship of Clann Chaimbeul.¹¹¹ The grant of royal burghal status to Inveraray in 1474 signalled the start of an incredibly profitable commercial relationship between the Earl of Argyll and the Crown, but one may speculate that the king's plantation of the bishop at Dunoon Castle in the 1450s may have represented an initial step to control the growing trade by bolstering the presence of a more trustworthy figure along the Clyde estuary.¹¹² The bishop himself may have directly benefitted from the growing fishing trade, if as seems likely, this was liable to the tithes.¹¹³ The shift of the bishopric to the Clyde should therefore be understood as part of a wider gravitational realignment of the political and economic centre of Argyll from the old MicDubhghaill lords of Argyll located in Lorn towards Clann Chaimbeul and their new earldom of Argyll, centred upon Mid-Argyll and Cowal.¹¹⁴

The increasing centralisation of the Church and state administration also meant bishops had to have easy access to the Lowlands. The establishment of the archbishoprics of St Andrews (1472) and Glasgow (1492) altered Argyll's status as a suffragan see under their jurisdiction and necessitated regular contact and attendance at their provincial councils which,

¹¹⁰ Boardman, "The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court", 83–109.

¹¹¹ S. Boardman, "Pillars of the Community", 135–136, 145–148.

¹¹² The installation of loyal Lowland clerics may have been part of this process. Dumbarton's trading privileges extended to the head of Loch Long, where Lowland clerics allied to the bishop controlled the vicarage of Lochgoilhead in 1441, 1456 and 1460. Boardman, *Campbells*, 295; Appendix A, nos. 117–118, 122–123.

¹¹³ See below, p. 245.

¹¹⁴ The Lord of Lochawe was created Earl of Argyll in 1458. Boardman, *Campbells*, 169.

according to canon law, should be held every three years.¹¹⁵ The bishop could also be summoned to parliament and general councils by the king as spiritual representatives of the three estates. When on 1 October 1472 Aonghas, bishop of Sodor, supplicated to retain possession of the prebend of Kilberry in Knapdale, he did so not only because of episcopal poverty, but because it served as “a house on the mainland where he might rest when he happens to be called to the king of Scots, or other princes who have jurisdiction only in the Isles”.¹¹⁶ Unlike the earlier bishops, MacGill-Anndrais and Finlay of Albany, bishops Lauder, MacCòmbaich and Hamilton were regular attendees at parliament on account of their closer association with the Crown.¹¹⁷ As Lowlanders (or in Bishop MacCòmbaich’s case, as a local of Gaelic West Dunbartonshire) the bishop’s private kin and property interests would also necessitate the need for frequent visits beyond the diocese. Indeed, it is possible that these kind of political and logistical priorities might also explain the fragmentary indications of an unfulfilled plan to establish the cathedral chapter of Sodor in the Firth of Clyde during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in which Clann Chòmbaich may again have been involved.¹¹⁸

It was hardly unusual for late medieval bishops to remain absent from their cathedral for extended periods, even during the great feast days which they were obliged to celebrate.¹¹⁹ However, what distinguishes Argyll

¹¹⁵ Session 15, Ecumenical Council of Florence (1438–1445), in “Ecumenical and General Church Councils”, *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook-law.html. [accessed 4 December 2006]; L.J. MacFarlane, “The Elevation of the Diocese of Glasgow into an Archbishopric in 1492”, *IR* 43:2 (1992), 99–118, at 105.

¹¹⁶ *CSSR*, vi, nos. 71, 73; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 199–207.

¹¹⁷ Bishop Lauder: *APS*, ii, 28b, 37b, 60b, 61b, 62b, 64b, 74b, 77b, 103 and supp. 28a. Bishop MacCòmbaich: *APS*, ii, 108a, 113a, 190b, 120b, 142a & b, 145a, 168b; vi, part ii, 230. Bishop Hamilton: *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* [*RPS*] eds. K.M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007) <http://rps.ac.uk>, A1504/3/148; 1505/1/26; 1506/2/32 [accessed 27 August 2008]; *ADC 1501–1554*, 105. The only late fourteenth-century bishop on record was Màrtainn of Argyll. *RPS*, A1371/4 [accessed 28 August 2008].

¹¹⁸ Kingarth in Bute and Kilmory in Arran both occur as prebends of Sodor on 19 October 1463 and 9 January 1482 respectively. *CPL*, xi, 498; *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 93. Later references are to rectories, but Kingarth (“Grynghart”) reappears as a prebend of Sodor on 3 June 1494 when Adam Colquhoun sought new provision following the death of the last prebendary, which suggests it may have remained so throughout this period. *Reg. Suppl.*, 976, fol. 139r. The appearance of Eoin MacCòmbaich, Lord of Luss, father of Raibeart, bishop of Argyll, as *firmarius* of the lands of Kingarth on 25 March 1471 strengthens the established connection between the wider Clann Chòmbaich/Colquhouns and this church. *Abstract of Protocol Book of the Burgh of Stirling, AD 1469–1484* (Edinburgh, 1896), 5. Kindred members were also an active ecclesiastical presence in the Kintyre peninsula during this period. See pp. 65, 131.

¹¹⁹ Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 104.

(and for that matter Sodor too) is the sustained neglect and apparent abandonment of the cathedral throughout the century after 1452. The cathedral was, after all, supposedly the greatest church and symbol of the diocese, and for the bishop in particular it should have held especial significance, being his personal church and, according to the canonists, the spouse whom he was bound to love and beautify.¹²⁰ Other Scottish bishops were aware of this responsibility and continued to decorate and improve their cathedrals, so why was Argyll so neglected?¹²¹ The most obvious explanation is the ambush and physical assault upon Bishop Lauder and his followers on Lismore by a local clan led by two senior members of his own cathedral chapter on 29 August 1452, which features in a lengthy eyewitness account in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* [AC hereafter].¹²² The affair has been rehearsed many times over by historians though rarely within the context of episcopal authority and policies within the diocese. On 23 January 1451 the chancellor, treasurer and official of Argyll were appointed by the pope to inquire into allegations made against Hercules Scrymgeour, prebendary of Glassary, who was accused of perjury and dilapidating and “uselessly” consuming the possessions of the canonry of Argyll and the rectory of Glassary.¹²³ The papal executors were mandated to summon the plaintiff and the defendant, investigate and, if they found the accusations to be true, deprive Hercules and collate the plaintiff, Gofraidh mac Ghofraidh [“Godfrey Godfridi”], the vicar of Kilberry, in his stead.¹²⁴ AC informs us that the judgement had gone against Scrymgeour, who then obtained a summons (presumably from the bishop) against two of the executors, the chancellor, Gille-Brighde MacLachlainn [“Gilbert McLathane”] and the treasurer Muiris MacPhaidein [“Morris McFadzane”].¹²⁵ Confusion over the nature of this summons lies at the heart of the trouble that followed. The chronicler claimed that the summons was not very serious and that the chancellor and treasurers’ fears that the bishop intended to deprive them both and install Hercules Scrymgeour in their place were

¹²⁰ “Cathedral” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html accessed 27 March 2008].

¹²¹ *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Abderdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. J. Moir (New Spalding Club, 1894), 97; *Rentale Dunkeldense*, pp. xxxi–xliv, 314–315; MacQueen, “Alexander Myln”, 349–360, at 355–357.

¹²² AC, 168.

¹²³ CPL, x, 470.

¹²⁴ Ibid. For Gofraidh’s origins see below, pp. 146–47.

¹²⁵ AC, 168. I favour *Muiris* here as it is closer to ‘Morris’. However, Latin *Mauricius* or *Mauritius* could also refer to Gaelic *Muireadhach* (shortened as *Muireach*), and sometimes also to *Murchadh*. See LMMS, 127–128, 153.

groundless; Bishop Lauder only wished to make “gud tretye”.¹²⁶ The chancellor and treasurer, however, brought the whole of Clann Lachlainn (“clan lathane”) with them and attacked the bishop’s party, took Hercules Scrymgeour and his brother captive, and threatened to kill the bishop if he did not absolve them for the crime they had just committed, before making off with their “bullis” (i.e. papal bulls) and valuables.

It is probable that the summons was to an episcopal court due to be held in the cathedral, and that the two dignitaries believed it was actually a papal mandate with the bishop as the executor. This would explain why their behaviour was so drastic and why, at its conclusion, they chose to apprehend the papal bulls and from the bishop’s party.¹²⁷ The trouble continued to rumble on for at least another two years. Alexander Scrymgeour subsequently succeeded his brother in the prebend of Glassary, but was unable to retrieve some goods belonging to it which the vicar of Kilberry had apprehended, and on 3 April 1454 was compelled to seek a papal mandate himself.¹²⁸ This was principally an ecclesiastical dispute initiated through, and concluded by, the system of papal provisions, and is in itself a good example of the means by which the bishop’s control of ecclesiastical affairs in his own diocese could be undermined by appealing to the papal court.

Andrew Barrell has suggested that the incident reflected underlying native hostility towards the influx of non-native clergy into benefices during the post-1425 period and the damage this was doing to the bishop’s own authority.¹²⁹ Although language was never mentioned in this papal correspondence, it is a key theme in the chronicler’s account, which highlighted the addressing of the bishop in “errische” (i.e. Irish or Gaelic) with “Bannachdee” (Gaelic *beannachadh De*, meaning ‘God’s blessing’) as being insulting and done “for dispyte” (‘for spite’).¹³⁰ The term seems harmless, but it had acquired a satirical edge in Lowland literature and, given the subsequent violence of the confrontation, had acquired the same usage in Argyll.¹³¹ The clerics’ alleged fear of deprivation is certainly understandable

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ For a full account of this affair. see Iain G. MacDonald, “The attack on Bishop George Lauder of Argyll in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*”, *IR* 61: 2 (2010), 111–136.

¹²⁸ *CPL*, x, 692.

¹²⁹ Barrell, “Church in the West Highlands”, 28.

¹³⁰ *AC*, 168.

¹³¹ For the use of this term in other contemporary contexts see D. Murison, “Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland”, in *The Scottish Tradition*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1974), 71–83, at 79.

in the light of Bishop Lauder's preference for fellow Lowlanders, some of whom could not speak Gaelic and/or were non-resident, at the expense of native ecclesiastics.¹³² This was not problematic for those who held benefices without pastoral care, but many of them received livings with cure of souls which they themselves could not personally discharge. This was a clear breach of canon law and provoked complaints to Rome from marginalised local clergy who were overlooked.¹³³ Indeed, on 21 March 1466 Cailean Caimbeul, Lord of Glenorchy actually supplicated to ban the granting of benefices in Argyll to clergy who could not speak Gaelic, a measure which implies that the presence of Lowland, non-Gaelic-speaking clerics in these livings was a significant problem.¹³⁴

However, as Canice Mooney commented in his survey of the Irish Church, "every difference of opinion, should it happen that the protagonists were of different races, was liable to be inflated into a racial quarrel".¹³⁵ It is too simple to categorise such ecclesiastical disputes as racially motivated simply because the bishop and his inner circle were of Lowland origin. Andrew Barrell's own examination of the linguistic quarrels in the fifteenth century shows us that the clashes were, in essence, disputes for supremacy over the local Church fought between the bishop and the local nobility which were ultimately rooted in the exceptionally poor resources and inadequate ecclesiastical muscle available to the bishop.¹³⁶ The cathedral dignities were in the gift of lay patronage, which meant that he could not readily use these to reward his servants and administrators, so he sought to intrude fellow Lowlanders into parochial benefices against the wishes of the local lay patron.¹³⁷

Barrell's interpretation certainly has merit, for the bishop's ability to present his own candidates to benefices, both in chapter and the parishes, were, as we have seen, incredibly restrictive. However, study of Bishop Lauder's predecessors shows that his struggles against lay patronage and poverty were hardly unprecedented. Between 1393 and 1411 bishops Eoin

¹³² See below, p. 117.

¹³³ See below, pp. 87, 88, 89–90. Canon nine of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 commanded bishops to provide suitable men to administer and instruct people of differing languages and customs. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N.P. Tanner (London, 1990), i, 239.

¹³⁴ *CSSR*, v, no. 1099.

¹³⁵ C. Mooney, "The Church in Gaelic Ireland: Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries", in *A History of Irish Catholicism*, gen. ed. P.J. Corish (Dublin, 1969), vol. 2: 5, p. 7.

¹³⁶ Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 27–28.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 28–30.

mac Dhubhghaill and Beathán MacGill-Anndrais were repeatedly engaged in long-running disputes in the *Curia* against Clann Dòmhnail over the annexation of the church of Kilmonivaig to the deanery and (latterly) bishopric of Argyll.¹³⁸ MacGill-Anndrais also took drastic steps to annex the church of Kilmelfort to the cathedral chapter, even to the extent of incarcerating the incumbent rector. The plan ultimately failed, probably largely because his prisoner – Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil – had a close working relationship with the lay patrons, the lords of Lochawe and thus with Clann Chaimbeul.¹³⁹ Bishop MacGill-Anndrais was quite explicit about blaming his own behaviour upon the financial hardship caused by the “nobles and powerful men” who unlawfully appropriated rents and profits pertaining to the episcopal table of Argyll.¹⁴⁰ This picture of financial poverty may also explain why Bishop MacGill-Anndrais himself occupied the vicarage of Kilbride for some eight years before his death in 1411 × 1420.¹⁴¹

During the 1430s and 1440s these disputes between bishop and patron re-emerged with a renewed intensity, and were now overlain by complaints about language, but they were really initiated by James I's active political interest in the region.¹⁴² James I had good reason to wish to impose his will upon the local Church, for the previous bishop, Finlay of Albany, played a prominent role in the rebellious attack against the king by the men of the Lennox upon the burgh of Dumbarton on 3 May 1425.¹⁴³ The appointment of George Lauder formed the core of a royal strategy to bring Argyll securely within the orbit of royal control by placing trustworthy figures in strategically important ecclesiastical offices. The benefices controlled by the lordship of Donnchadh Caimbeul of Lochawe were a prime target because his family had an extremely close kinship and alliance with the Albany Stewarts. Since Robert II's reign, Clann Chaimbeul lordship had enjoyed unparalleled growth within their traditional territory of Mid-Argyll, a position acknowledged by the grant of a hereditary royal lieutenancy in 1382 covering most of Argyll between the lordship of Lorn and Knapdale.¹⁴⁴ Lauder's control of ecclesiastical patronage in

¹³⁸ See Appendix A, nos. 395–409, and sources cited therein.

¹³⁹ Ibid., nos. 287–288. See Boardman, “The Campbells and charter lordship”, 116 and n. 66.

¹⁴⁰ *HP*, iv, 162–163.

¹⁴¹ Appendix A, no. 304.

¹⁴² Boardman, *Campbells*, 126–129.

¹⁴³ Brown, *James I*, 64–65.

¹⁴⁴ *RMS*, ii, no. 1431; Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 128, 151, n. 32.

Argyll was “intimately tied” to James I’s political agenda in the region, and this dependency upon the king’s support can be inferred from the backlash against the bishop’s appointees following the king’s death in 1437.¹⁴⁵ Certainly, if we look at the clerics who were accused of being unable to speak Gaelic in 1441 we see that they were in possession of benefices nearby to power centres of Clann Chaimbeul; James Lauder in the vicarage of Glenorchy and Peter of Dalkeith in the vicarage of Lochgoilhead were located near the castles of Kilchurn and Carrick respectively. At the same time, the heritable royal lieutenancy held by the lords of Lochawe since 1382 is thought to have been rescinded by the king.¹⁴⁶

At the March parliament of 1430, with the king finally confident he had secured the acquiescence of Clann Chaimbeul, royal strategies shifted onto the mainland territories of the lordship of the Isles.¹⁴⁷ The beginning of the assault upon Clann Dòmhnail through the Church was marked by the submission of Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail of the Isles [“Angus Donaldi de Insulis”], bishop of Sodor, who resigned his authority over Iona Abbey to the bishop of Dunkeld.¹⁴⁸ George Lauder was present at the Perth parliament,¹⁴⁹ and from the surviving papal petitions to Rome we can deduce that almost all the episcopal appointments of his own candidates to benefices in defiance of the rights of MacDòmhnail patronage post-date the year 1430. Altogether we find the bishop successfully interfering in the provision of priests to at least four benefices in Knapdale and Kintyre during the late 1420s and early 1430s. At least three of these churches lay in the recognised patronage of the Lord of the Isles, but only one priest, John Arous, vicar of Kilcalmonell in Knapdale, was the subject of a complaint concerning the language used by the incumbent.¹⁵⁰ Two of the other three cases in the early 1430s appear to have involved the collations of Gaels; “Dougal [Cristini] Laurencii” [Dubhghall mac Ghille-Chriost mhic Labhruinn], and “Maurice Dugaldi MacNeil” [Muireadhach mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill] were collated by Bishop Lauder to the rectory of Kilmichael and the prebend of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre respectively, on both occasions against the wishes of the lay patron, Alasdair, Lord of

¹⁴⁵ Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 132–133.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 132, 153, n. 50.

¹⁴⁷ Boardman, *Campbells*, 129.

¹⁴⁸ *Scotichronicon*, viii, 266–267, 366–367; R. Tanner, *The Late Medieval Scottish Parliament: politics and the three estates, 1424–1488* (East Linton, 2001), 49.

¹⁴⁹ APS, ii, 28b.

¹⁵⁰ Appendix A, nos. 249, 251.

the Isles.¹⁵¹ Their appointment counterpoises the presence of Lowlanders at Glenorchy and Lochgoilhead in 1441, and suggests that the bishop's recruitment policies were not principally motivated by antipathy towards Gaelic clergy, but were a means of reasserting the primacy of the clergy's loyalty to their bishop rather than their local lord or clan chief. The bishop's interference in all these parochial benefices appears to have occurred after a royal expedition into Knapdale in 1430 to capture the castles of Sween and Skipness (in Kilcalmonell parish), the governance of which was granted to two loyal Ayrshire magnates, Alexander Montgomery of Ardrossan and Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs.¹⁵² Both came from the Stewartry which the king was also attempting to re-establish and which had encompassed the lands of Cowal and Knapdale.¹⁵³ Indeed, this expedition probably directly led to the appointment of the non-Gaelic speaking John Arous, secretary of Queen Joan Beaufort, to Kilcalmonell.¹⁵⁴

Several of the petitions regarding language may be viewed within the context of a concurrent political agenda emanating from royal government that wished to curtail local magnate power and reassert Stewart overlordship in the two most likely areas of potential trouble: Clann Chaimbeul in Mid-Argyll and Cowal, and Clann Dòmhnail in Knapdale. Bishop Lauder also took the opportunity to strike against lay patronage in the cathedral chapter, for in 1432 the deanery of Argyll was declared to be of elective status, having formerly resided in lay presentation in 1420, probably of the lords of Lorn.¹⁵⁵ The role of the bishop as a royal agent in the securing of the west in this period helps explain the decision to collate loyal figures in ecclesiastical offices in these regions. This usually entailed the appointment of outsiders, independent men with no previous connection to the major magnates and who, given the bishop's background, were likely to share his own Lowland origins. However, this factor made

¹⁵¹ Ibid., nos. 178–179, 229–230. Sometime before 21 May 1431 Lauder also provided a James Douglas, clerk of the diocese of St Andrews, to the same canonry and prebend. Ibid., nos. 175–176. For the name *Muireadhach*, see above, p. 84, n. 125.

¹⁵² Brown, *James I*, 135.

¹⁵³ The Stewartry had been granted in regality by James's father, Robert III, on 10 December 1404. It also included the earldom of Carrick, the baronies of Renfrew, Cunningham and Kyle-Stewart, and the islands of Bute and Arran. S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406* (East Linton, 1996) at 281–282; Brown, *James I*, 13–14.

¹⁵⁴ In June 1433 he was alleged to have been in possession for three years. Appendix A, no. 249.

¹⁵⁵ *CPL Clement VII*, 143, 192–193; *CSSR*, i, 179–180; iii, 260–261.

them vulnerable to charges of neglecting the cure of souls on the grounds of defect of dialect.

Clann Chaimbeul themselves were always heavily associated with the issue of language throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Stephen Boardman has argued that the framing of the petitions around the issue of language in 1441 demonstrates that the “guiding hand” behind the attack was Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe, and cites the examples of the petition by his brother Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul for Glassary on 9 March 1423 and his son Cailean of Glenorchy on 21 March 1466.¹⁵⁶ The 1441 petitions represented the Lord of Lochawe’s efforts to reacquire the patronage of the churches of Lochgoilhead and Glenorchy by obtaining papal confirmation for their union to his proposed collegiate church of Kilmun (fig. 7).¹⁵⁷ However, the kindred had previously highlighted language as an issue as early as 16 January 1366, when Donnchadh’s father petitioned for a marriage dispensation on linguistic grounds.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, this relationship between Clann Chaimbeul and the topic of Gaelic extended beyond the diocese. On 1 February 1487 a “Robert Canbel”, clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, petitioned for the perpetual vicarage of “Kyrkcun” (Kirkcolm) in Galloway because the incumbent did not know the Gaelic language.¹⁵⁹ Although probably from the Loudoun branch of the kindred, he presumably spoke Gaelic and may be identifiable with the figure of the same name that accompanied Eoin Caimbeul (son of Cailean of Glenorchy) to Rome and succeeded him in the archdeaconry of Argyll on 19 January 1487.¹⁶⁰ A considerable proportion of the petitions relating to language, stretching well over a century, are traceable to a numerically small but highly influential group of nobles and Gaelic clergy from Clann Chaimbeul who repeatedly employed it for their own strategic purposes.¹⁶¹

The 1441 petition against the Lowland incumbent of the vicarage of Lochgoilhead was explicit in blaming Lauder’s intrusion against the wishes of the lay patron and with the help of the “secular power”, but there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that there was a legal basis explaining

¹⁵⁶ Boardman, *Campbells*, 143–144.

¹⁵⁷ CSSR, iv, no. 791.

¹⁵⁸ CPL, iv, 56. See Boardman, *Campbells*, 73–74, 102, 104, for the identity of the figures in this supplication.

¹⁵⁹ CPL, xiv, 192–193.

¹⁶⁰ *Fasti*, 48.

¹⁶¹ See MacDonald “That uncouth dialect” (forthcoming).

Lauder's exercise of patronage over this benefice and that of Glenorchy.¹⁶² In the case of Lochgoilhead, this is suggested by the bishop's successful collation of Lowland adherents and kinsman such as William "Bykatoune" (1456) and John Lauder (1460–1462) to the vicarage well after the death of James I, and despite the annexation of the church to Kilmun College in 1441.¹⁶³ More damning, however, was the refusal of Bishop Lauder to recognise the legitimacy of Kilmun to make presentations to the vicarage of Glenorchy in 1471, a full 30 years after the annexation of that church had taken place. At Dunoon on the morning of 25 September of that year the bishop refused to collate "sir Allan [Ailean] Ouchtre" to the vicarage upon his presentation by the provost and chaplains of Kilmun, yet by the afternoon he agreed to confer the vicarage to Ailean, though with the express statement that he had "refused and denied to give collation on the presentation of the provost and chaplains of Kilmun".¹⁶⁴ Another notarial instrument written just over a month earlier on 18 August implies that there were problems surrounding the rights of Kilmun. It stated that there had been a contract between Bishop Lauder and Cailean, Earl of Argyll, "about certain debates and actions concerning the collegiate church of St Mund of Cowall and the chaplains thereof", and added that the archdeacon, on behalf of the bishop, had unsuccessfully searched for the earl or any other in his name in order to honour the contract.¹⁶⁵ The precise details of this contract between the bishop and earl are elusive, but it presumably occurred after 1466, when the bishop united the rectory of the church of Kilmalieu to the capitular *mensa* of Kilmun.¹⁶⁶ From the contextual evidence we might deduce that a deal struck to resolve a long-running dispute over the patronage of the vicarages of the churches annexed to Kilmun College, to which the bishop maintained the right of presentation.

In this regard we may return to the issue of episcopal patronage. Is it possible that Bishop Lauder was attempting to resurrect moribund rights of the bishopric to present to the vicarages of unappropriated churches in the diocese and was basing his case upon Argyll's customary system of the quadripartition of tithes? We know that there are earlier disputes

¹⁶² *CSSR*, iv, no. 823.

¹⁶³ Appendix A, nos. 122–23. Bykatoune was presumably a close associate, featuring in the witness list of a charter by Bishop George Lauder, in his capacity as Lord of Balcomy, at St Andrews in November 1444. *NLS Adv.* MS 15.1.18/103.

¹⁶⁴ *NLS Adv.* MS 19.2.23, fol. 6v.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 5v.

¹⁶⁶ *CPL*, xii, 242–244; *CSSR*, v, no. 1105.

surrounding the patronage of vicarages whose churches had been annexed to Paisley Abbey. At a hearing in 1299 Laurence, bishop of Argyll was forced to admit that the patronage of the vicarage of Kilkerran belonged to the abbot of Paisley Abbey and to issue a letter to that effect as he had already done for their other church of Kilfinan.¹⁶⁷ In 1362 Bishop Màrtainn of Argyll, having illegally occupied and usurped the fruits of the annexed churches of Kilkerran, Kilfinan and Kilcalmonell for over a decade (partly to punish the Abbot of Paisley for failing to attend his episcopal synod), eventually agreed to relax the sequestration and admit the monks' presentation to the church of Kilkerran, as long as they kept the church in good repair.¹⁶⁸ In this context, Bishop Lauder's actions do not seem unprecedented. Moreover, a petition in 1431 regarding the free parsonage of Kilmallie claimed that its perpetual vicar was "instituted by ordinary authority to minister *in divinis*".¹⁶⁹ Statements regarding the right of 'institution' and the similar term 'collation' are difficult to interpret and contemporaries were themselves sometimes confused by them, but this could imply an episcopal right to present rather than rubber-stamping a lay presentation.¹⁷⁰ This theory could also explain why a petition by Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy in 1466 chose to abandon claims of lay patronage to specific benefices in favour of a general prohibition on those who could not speak the Gaelic vernacular. In a wider context, the relationship between Bishop Lauder and the leadership of Clann Chaimbeul bears some similarities with the mid-thirteenth century diocese of Dunblane, where Bishop Clement believed his episcopal rights, revenues and authority had been damaged by the earls of Strathearn. The latter's pious intentions were directed to Inchaffray Abbey rather than Dunblane Cathedral, and may parallel that between the lords of Lochawe and the collegiate church of Kilmun.¹⁷¹

Whatever the case, there is enough evidence here to argue that Bishop Lauder's episcopate was far from being as unsuccessful as previously thought. Stephen Boardman and Andrew Barrell have both offered rather gloomy assessments of episcopal authority during the mid-fifteenth

¹⁶⁷ OPS, 2: 1, 13.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 14–15.

¹⁶⁹ CSSR, iii, 166.

¹⁷⁰ A.D.M. Barrell, "Royal presentations to ecclesiastical benefices in late medieval Scotland", *IR* 55: 2 (2004), 181–204, at 185–186. In 1463 the former vicar of Kilcolmkill in Morvern also claimed that he had been collated by ordinary authority. *CPL*, xi, 480.

¹⁷¹ C.J. Neville, *Native Lordship in Medieval Scotland: The Earldoms of Strathearn and Lennox*, c. 1140–1365 (Dublin, 2005), 149–158, especially 152–154.

century; Boardman states that after James I's death (1437) Lauder "fared very badly" in terms of his ability to appoint to benefices, while Barrell suggests that the exile of the bishop in 1462 demonstrated his inability to secure himself and his clerks within the local ecclesiastical structure.¹⁷² However, despite the setbacks suffered in the 1440s, the assault in 1452 and even during the self-imposed relocation from 1462, episcopal authority continued to function as the bishop himself promised and was able to work with the secular lords.¹⁷³ Indeed, his continued influence in the heartlands of Clann Chaimbeul power in Mid-Argyll was sufficiently strong to enable him to impose his own kinsmen and allies in the vicarage of Lochgoilhead and the archdeaconry during the 1460s, a living which had been exclusive to Clann Chaimbeul for over 50 years.

There is, however, far less certainty about Bishop Lauder's control over the cathedral church in Lismore. In c. 1462 he appointed fellow Lowlander Robert Muir to the deanery of Argyll, but by 1466 this individual was facing accusations of non-residency and defect of dialect from the Lochaber cleric Coinneach mac Beatháin ["Kenneth Beani"].¹⁷⁴ In 1470 another suppliant even sought to have the succession of elected deans since 1432 declared invalid because George, bishop of Argyll "perhaps in ignorance" had collated two incumbents when it had allegedly fallen into papal reservation.¹⁷⁵ The bishop's presence was still felt in Lismore, but it was clearly under attack. Although the suppliant, a local cleric named Maol-Colum mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh ["Malcolm, son of Solomon David"], was successful in obtaining the deanery, he was forced to recognise that the office was still elective, and not non-elective, as he had initially alleged.¹⁷⁶ It is difficult to avoid seeing a connection between this petition to revert the deanery to lay patronage with the recent capture of the lordship of Lorn by Clann Chaimbeul in 1470; though they may have acted as patrons after this date, it was not until 1497 that the Earl of Argyll actually appears exercising the right of patron.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² Boardman, *Campbells*, 144; Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 30.

¹⁷³ In 1462 Bishop Lauder claimed he would continue to exercise "all jurisdiction, civil and criminal, temporal and spiritual, as if he were resident within his own diocese". *CSSR*, v, no. 903.

¹⁷⁴ *Fasti*, 41; *CSSR*, v, no. 1126; *CPL*, xii, 743.

¹⁷⁵ *CPL*, xii, 743.

¹⁷⁶ *CSSR*, v, nos. 1464, 1470.

¹⁷⁷ AT, charter dated 19 June 1497; *HMC*, Fourth Report, 474; MacGregor, "Church and culture", 27–28, n. 122.

Lismore may have been increasingly drawn into the web of Clann Chaimbeul, but episcopal authority continued to be recognised in the furthest reaches of the diocese: in February 1458 James Wick obtained new provision to the prebend of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre to which he had been provided by ordinary authority, while in June 1463 Gille-Chriost mac Ghille-Brìghde [“Cristinus Brictii”] sought new provision to the rectory of Killarow (“St Kaermani”) to which he had been presented by the lay patron Eoin of Islay, Lord of the Isles and invested by George, bishop of Argyll.¹⁷⁸ Donnchadh Ó Brolcháin, prebendary of Kilcolmkill between 1464 and 1467, was similarly presented and instituted by the bishop.¹⁷⁹ Even as late as 14 April 1472 Bishop Lauder was, from his palace of Dumbarton, ordering the collation of Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna [“Andreas Mccacharn”] to the parish church of Ardnamurchan (fig. 9) upon his presentation by Alasdair mac Eoin, the MacLain Lord of Ardnamurchan.¹⁸⁰ Collectively, this evidence shows that, regardless of political or cultural divisions, there was an effective working relationship between the leading chiefs of Clann Dòmhnail and the bishop of Argyll, right up to the very eve of the first forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1475. The continued exercise and recognition of episcopal authority even after 1462 demonstrates that, whatever may have been the case during James I’s rule, it is quite wrong to paint the bishop simply as a royal agent in the west, or to interpret his decision to leave the cathedral and diocese as necessarily a sign of failure. The evidence rather supports the bishop’s claim that he would continue to exercise his entire jurisdiction after his relocation.

We should avoid trying to interpret Lauder’s decision to leave the diocese in 1462 as the culmination of the increasing cultural tensions manifested in the attack of 1452. This oversimplifies events which took place a decade apart. Indeed, one of the principal rebels of 1452, Muiris MacPhaidein, was actually working alongside Bishop Lauder in 1456 and during his Dumbarton residency in 1467 (fig. 4).¹⁸¹ In this instance it is sensible to take the bishop at his own word, namely, that “strife raging between temporal lords and other magnates of his diocese, and the tumults of wars and dangers arising therefrom”, made it impossible for him to reside in Argyll or meet his subjects safely “without endangering their

¹⁷⁸ Appendix A, nos. 181, 200.

¹⁷⁹ *CSSR*, v, no. 1174.

¹⁸⁰ NLS, Adv. MS. 19.2.23, fol. 10v. For MacLain’s identity see *LMMS*, 113.

¹⁸¹ NAS GD112/2/37/1, no. 1; NLS, Adv. MS 19.2.20, p. 76.

lives".¹⁸² Some writers have linked this event with a traditional tale of an attack upon the bishop by Dòmhnall *Balloch*, the Clann Dòmhnall Lord of Dunivaig and the Glens of Antrim, but the story itself is of sixteenth-century date and derives from a misreading of the 1452 affair on Lismore.¹⁸³ Dòmhnall *Balloch* and Cailean, Earl of Argyll were, however, probably the figures the bishop was referring to; both sought regional supremacy in the west during the royal minority following the death of James II in 1460. Lorn, wherein Lismore was sited, suffered endemic violence and unrest in the early 1460s due to a crisis over succession to the MacDubhghaill inheritance in the lordship and in which the two supported opposing sides.¹⁸⁴ They also engaged directly for control of the seaways in the Firth of Clyde as part of their respective regional ambitions, and in the midst of government disquiet with the region the Earl of Argyll managed to have himself appointed bailie of Cowal and appropriated Dunoon Castle in 1460.¹⁸⁵ Legally, Bishop Lauder's custodianship of the castle had lapsed after the king's death, but he also faced attempts to end his control of the parish church one year later. On 30 June 1461 a supplication filed in the name of James III argued that the annexation of the church had been illegal and was "prejudicial to himself and succeeding princes". It alleged that the bishop had illegally occupied Dunoon parish church for the past two years, and had refused to collate the royal candidate, one "Archibald Gilberti Eugenii" [Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-Brìghde mhic Eòghainn], to the benefice.¹⁸⁶ However, the timing, location and Gaelic identity of the candidate all suggest Cailean, Earl of Argyll, acting ostensibly in the role of

¹⁸² *CSSR*, v, no. 903.

¹⁸³ C. McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh 1990), 120–121, noted this problem in the misreading of the three passages in *AC* concerning Dòmhnall's raid on the Firth of Clyde, the attack on the bishop in 1452, and the Lord of the Isles' takeover of royal castles in the central Highlands as one single episode. *AC*, 167–169. The story connecting Dòmhnall *Balloch* and Bishop Lauder is repeated and embellished a number of times from sixteenth-century historical continuations of Boece onwards, in Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historiae*, ed. G. Ferrerio (Paris, 1574), 378; Robert Lindsay, *The Chronicles of Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814), i, 136–137; P. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, 10 vols. (Edinburgh, 1841–50), iv, 107–108; A.J. and A. Macdonald, *The Clan Donald*, 3 vols. (1896–1904), ii, 503–504. For modern examples see C. MacDonald, *The History of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1951), 219–220; *Hary's Wallace: Vita Nobilissimi Defensoris Scotie Wilelmi Wallace Militis*, ed. M.P. McDiarmid, 2 vols. (STS, 1968–69), ii, 207; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 362.

¹⁸⁴ Boardman, "Leper John", 237–242. Bishop Lauder had himself played a role in the Lorn dispute: on 16 November 1447 he was mandated to legitimise a nephew of Dòmhnall *Balloch*. *CPL*, x, 336. He is probably the bishop who urged Eoin mac Ailein MacDubhghaill of Lorn to petition the pope to legitimise his marriage. *CSSR*, v, no. 101.

¹⁸⁵ Boardman, *Campbells*, 173.

¹⁸⁶ Appendix A, no. 87.

royal representative during James's minority, was actually the instigator of the petition.¹⁸⁷ In the light of this, it is a supreme irony that it is Argyll's rival Dòmhnall *Balloch* who is repeatedly and wrongly charged by historians with a wholly fictitious attack upon the bishop, forcing him to flee into exile.

The succeeding episcopate of Bishop Raibeart MacCòmbaich (1475–1496) is more poorly documented, with little indication of any reversals to the major changes which occurred during his predecessor's reign, either in terms of residence or political alignment or the bishopric's chronic financial troubles. His dispensation to maintain possession of the prebend of Luss upon his promotion to the see on 24 April 1475 was undoubtedly a reflection of the latter problem, though it was an hardly unprecedented measure: Bishop MacGill-Anndrais did the same thing with Kilmonivaig in 1397, while neighbouring bishops of Dunblane and Sodor followed suit with identical requests on their promotion to episcopal office.¹⁸⁸ The dispensation did not, however, prevent Bishop Raibeart becoming involved in unseemly arguments around money; in October 1477 he was involved in a dispute concerning the will of the late provost of Dumbarton Collegiate Church, and he was excommunicated on 17 April 1491 for sequestrating the fruits of the three Argyll churches belonging to Paisley Abbey between 1489 and 1491.¹⁸⁹ There may have been a disciplinary as well as financial dimension to this dispute as earlier bishops had been at loggerheads with Paisley over the rights of these churches.¹⁹⁰

The most notable references to Raibeart as bishop in the historical record are in the Lowlands, where he was given important roles in running

¹⁸⁷ Boardman, *Campbells*, 173. The supplicant's kindred is unknown, but he may be identical to "Celestinus McEver" or "McEven" [Gill-easbuig MacIomhair or MacEòghainn], vicar of Kilmartin in July 1463. Appendix A, no. 155. *MacIomhair* was derived from *Ivar* or *Iomhar*, which was sometimes erroneously rendered as *Eugenius*, and was a favoured fore-name of the Strachur branch of Clann Chaimbeul. *Surnames*, 380, 520; *HP*, iv, 11. *Eòghan* and *Gill-easbuig* also feature in the thirteenth-century pedigree of the MacGilleChrìosd clan (anglicised *MacGilchrist*), ancestors of Clann Lachlainn of Strathlachlan. Sellar, "Cowal and Knapdale", 29.

¹⁸⁸ *CPL*, xiii, 417; *CPL Clement VII*, 49–50; *CSSR*, ii, 100, 197–198; vi, nos. 71, 73. Bishops were obliged to give up their benefices upon promotion and according to the constitution *Ex debito*, benefices which fell vacant at the Apostolic See were subject to papal reservation. W.E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327–1534* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 321.

¹⁸⁹ *CPL*, xiii, 597; *OPS*, 21, 15; *Pais. Reg.*, 152–156. The decision to appoint the curates of Dumbarton, Dunoon and Kilmun on 9 March 1491 to force the bishop to come to obedience is yet another indication of his continued residency in the Firth of Clyde region.

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 92.

the emerging machinery of the state, in particular following his election to the Council of Articles and the Committee of Causes in 1482.¹⁹¹ There are few surviving indications of his activities within the diocese, although he can be found confirming the annexation of Kilmonivaig parish church by the Lord of the Isles to Ardchattan Priory in September 1479.¹⁹² He might also perhaps be responsible for the introduction of an otherwise unknown clause in the cathedral statute book which, according to a petition of 9 April 1484, banned non-Gaelic-speakers from holding a benefice in the diocese.¹⁹³ Subsequent collations show this measure made little practical difference to the influx of Lowland Scots clergy, some of whom were presumably unable to converse in Gaelic. However, it may have helped to mend bridges with the increasingly powerful Clann Chaimbeul following the fractious episcopate of Lauder.

The re-emergence of regional instability in the wake of the final forfeiture of Clann Dòmhnail in 1493 signalled the revival of royal interest in the bishopric as an instrument for extending royal influence, though in an even more nakedly political fashion than under James I. This was undoubtedly because of the new opportunities afforded by the forfeiture for extending royal power in the former lordship, but perhaps also as a consequence of the close relationship between Bishop Hamilton and James IV. It was not, however, until the failure of the rebellion of Dòmhnall *Dubh*, the last direct heir to the MacDòmhnail lordship, in 1506 that substantial endowments began to be made which bolstered the bishopric's power and wealth within the diocese. The process started with two grants on 5 January and 16 August 1506 of all the judicial profits belonging to the king from the next justice-ayres and sheriff courts within the bounds of Kintyre, Knapdale, Lorn, Argyll (Mid-Argyll) and Glassary; followed by grants of lands in the baronies of Cowal and "Dummany" on 16 February 1506 and 7 April 1507, before a royal confirmation of the bishopric's rights and property on 16 September 1507.¹⁹⁴ The most important additions occurred in the early months of 1508 and were focused upon Kintyre. On 1 January, following a successful appeal to suppress Saddell Abbey the previous year, James confirmed its property and annexed it to the bishopric as the free barony of Saddell, with the right to erect

¹⁹¹ See above, n. 117.

¹⁹² *ALI*, no. 117, and also no. 118.

¹⁹³ *CSSR*, vi, no. 1005.

¹⁹⁴ *RMS*, ii, nos. 2938, 3136; *RSS*, i, nos. 1196, 1322, 1458. The lands were "Dunbue" and "Luchald", the latter being granted for a five year term.

castles, and on 12 March granted the Kintyre churches of Kilchousland and Kilmichael to the episcopal *mensa*, “out of compassion for the poor bishopric of Lismore”.¹⁹⁵ This was indubitably a strategic policy aimed at securing the region more firmly under royal control and extracting financial returns from newly acquired lands. Indeed a rental listing all the tenants in possession of crown lands in Kintyre had been drawn up by Bishop Hamilton and the Earl of Argyll in July 1505.¹⁹⁶ The construction of Saddell Castle (completed by February 1512) and the abortive attempt by the king to move the see from Lismore to Saddell on 22 April 1512 formed part of this wider process to extract rents while simultaneously securing them from possible loss in any subsequent rebellion.¹⁹⁷ The claims as to the ruinous state of Lismore cathedral lent a persuasive, if exaggerated, credibility to the request. The king’s underlying financial ambitions are actually hinted at in his stated opinion of Saddell’s location “in a more fertile land . . . a place that is indeed more agreeable” than Lismore.¹⁹⁸

Local chiefs were well aware that Bishop Hamilton and Saddell Castle were playing a critical role in supporting the incipient royal apparatus in Kintyre. In July 1518 Hamilton sought help from the lords of Council for its upkeep, as the “hale power of the Illis was cumand to tak” the castle which he himself could no longer maintain, and a boat he had sent with victuals was captured by “certane persounis of Ergile” who killed all the men onboard.¹⁹⁹ Choosing Hamilton enabled the king to exploit the regional ambitions and manpower of his cousin and Hamilton’s half-brother James, newly created Earl of Arran, across the Hebrides and western seaboard.²⁰⁰ The staffing and use of the see for overtly political purposes was not unusual, but rather part of a general trend brought about by the papal

¹⁹⁵ *James IV Letters*, no. 149; *RMS*, ii, nos. 3170, 3208. For discussion of Saddell’s property see A. McKerral, “A Chronology of the Abbey and Castle of Saddell, Kintyre”, *PSAS* 86 (1951–52), 115–121, at 118. Kilkivan was probably annexed to Saddell by this date. On 24 July 1539 the royal presentation to the vicarage of Kilkivan was made *sede vacante*. *RSS*, ii, no. 3902. This shows that the benefice was normally in episcopal patronage, and that the king was only exercising the right of presentation during its vacancy. Barrell, “Royal presentations”, 192.

¹⁹⁶ *ER*, xii, 698.

¹⁹⁷ MacDougall, “Lordship of the Isles and Stewart Kings”, 268–269.

¹⁹⁸ *James IV Letters*, no. 446.

¹⁹⁹ *ADC 1501–1554*, 123.

²⁰⁰ MacDougall, *James IV*, 230–231. Arran commanded the fleet which bombarded the refuge of Dòmhnall *Dubh* at Cairn-na-Burgh in the Treshnish Isles in May 1504. Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 546. See also above, p. 75. For the familial connections between the royal line and the Hamiltons see J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh, 2007), 61, 63.

indult of 1487 whereby ecclesiastical appointments (and by extension their resources) were effectively in the gift of the Scottish Crown, and thus vulnerable to exploitation for secular interests. Stephen Boardman has highlighted the annexations of Saddell and Iona as manifestations of the increasing number of commendatorships in Scotland, and this was further mirrored in 1513 when Bishop Hamilton received the commendatorship of Glenluce Abbey in Galloway in order to maintain his episcopal state.²⁰¹ Another manifestation of this, however, was the increasing number of laymen who were permitted to hold church revenues without entering the necessary orders.²⁰² This problem would seriously affect the bishopric during the mid-sixteenth century, but before analysing this period let us first briefly look back at how the system of papal provisions affected the bishopric of Argyll during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The introduction of the system of papal provisions into the everyday ecclesiastical business of the diocese from the 1380s onwards unavoidably diminished the status of the bishop among his flock. Regular access to a court of higher authority which superseded the bishop's court necessarily dictated that episcopal decisions were no longer final, and were open to challenge. As Clann Chaimbeul demonstrated in their complaints concerning Bishop Lauder's clergy, it could serve as a means to contest and potentially undermine the policies of the bishop within his own diocese. The privileges and immunities which papal connections afforded to certain clerics could undermine the ability of the bishop to correct misbehaving clergy. Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGillemichael certainly had strong local lay support in his fight against Bishop MacGill-Anndrais, but he was no doubt also aware of how the bishop's mistreatment of him, as a papal chaplain and familiar, would play in the *Curia*.²⁰³ Papal chaplains were a potential menace to ordinary authority as they were answerable only to the pope, but there was only one other recorded papal chaplain in

²⁰¹ He resigned Glenluce in favour of Dryburgh Abbey six years later. Boardman, *Campbells*, 328; *James V Letters*, 3, 61–62; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 61, 88.

²⁰² Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 67. For discussion of the sixteenth-century appointments, see M. Mahoney, "The Scottish Hierarchy, 1513–1565", in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513–1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), 39–84.

²⁰³ A mandate of 20 December 1409, warned the bishop to restore Gill-easbuig to "all the privileges he should have engaged as a papal chaplain". McGurk, "Papal letters", ii, no. 1034. *CPL Benedict XIII*, 212, 213–214, 243. For the rights of the papal chaplain see *The Papacy, An Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. P. Levillain, 3 vols. (London, 2002), i, 300, 559, and for papal familiars see E. Williamson, "Alexander Rait, familiar of the Pope, d. 1479", *IR* 52: 1 (2001), 29–41, at 31–33.

the diocese.²⁰⁴ Papal taxation policies were also a financial drain, though chiefly on the bishop rather than on the parishes, which were often below the tax threshold. Much more damaging financially were the costs of papal litigation, particularly against candidates supported by the wealthy magnates, such as Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul, who had a much greater capacity to endure costly, long-running disputes in the *Curia* than the bishop of Argyll. Yet it would be misleading to interpret the system of papal provisions as necessarily damaging to the spiritual wellbeing of the diocese. It was a legal process which offered those with local jurisdiction, whether they were bishops or patrons, the opportunity to defend their rights and prevent livings from falling into the hands of unsuitable persons.²⁰⁵ This could help as well as hinder the bishop. For example, Bishop MacGill-Anndrais's excommunication in 1411 was followed by a wide-ranging and impressive augmentation of episcopal rights and authority within the diocese,²⁰⁶ and it also helped to secure Bishop Lauder's possession of the parish church of Dunoon from 'royal' interference. What papal justice provided was access to a higher authority for all.

We can also trace the relative importance of the bishopric and chapter in the diocese during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by examining the number of times they were cited as executors of papal letters. Leonard Boyle and Eila Williamson have both concluded that executors were nominated by the supplicant or his procurator.²⁰⁷ Table 3 shows the number of papal mandates addressed to the bishop, archdeacon and cathedral clergy of Argyll between 1342 and 1512.²⁰⁸ It is clear that Argyll cathedral clergy were usually appointed to serve as papal executors, followed by their counterparts in the neighbouring dioceses of Glasgow, Sodor and Dunkeld. Out of approximately 202 mandates recorded in connection

²⁰⁴ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 213.

²⁰⁵ G. Barraclough, "The Executors of Papal Provisions in the Canonical Theory of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", in *Acta Congressus Iuridici Internationalis VII saeculo*, volume 3 (Rome, 1936), 111–153, at 119.

²⁰⁶ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 242–243. Bishop MacGill-Anndrais received faculty to collate anyone of his choice to any vacant benefice in the diocese, even if it was reserved to the papacy, for a period of two years, as well as any money payable to the *Curia* from these benefices. He also received faculty to dispense any person in the diocese from defect of birth, and to hold multiple benefices in plurality. See also, below, p. 173.

²⁰⁷ *CPL*, xv, p. xvii; J.E. Boyle, "Conflict over the Rectory of Cinel Luachain during the Fifteenth Century" *Breifne* 9: 35 (1999), 103–113; E. Williamson, "Alexander Rait", 39, n. 60.

²⁰⁸ This excludes cases where Argyll cathedral clergy were appointed to act as executors in other dioceses, which was a common practice in papal mandates, and lists only those mandates connected with ecclesiastical issues within the diocese of Argyll.

with the Church in Argyll between 1342 and 1512, well over a third were addressed to the bishop, archdeacon, and members of the chapter. The bishop of Argyll received the most papal mandates (16), followed by the archdeacon (12), and in descending order by the dean and chancellor, the precentor and the treasurer.²⁰⁹ There does not appear to be anything particularly remarkable in these statistics; mandates issued to bishops are frequent in the papal registers, and this is reflected here in Argyll. Although the bishop accounts for only a fifth of the total addressed to the diocesan administration, it was already common in the fourteenth century for the other cathedral clergy to be appointed.²¹⁰ Heads of religious houses were also regularly called upon to intervene in the affairs of the secular Church, but in Argyll they were named more times than the cathedral dignitaries. The totals for the abbot of Saddell (14) and the prior of Ardchattan (12) concerning Argyll are comparable with those of the bishop and archdeacon. They are also slightly higher than the abbot of Iona, who, perhaps surprisingly given the great prestige and age attached to this office, only features nine times. The provost of Kilmun only features twice too, though this was doubtless attributable to the relative youth of the college, being only founded in 1441, and well into the era of provisions.

If we leave the table aside momentarily and concentrate on all the mandates issued to the bishop of Argyll, irrespective of diocese, then patterns begin to emerge. The cases where the bishop was named executor were largely concerned either with ecclesiastical business beyond his diocesan jurisdiction, or the marital status of the lay nobility. In the entire period between 1342 and 1512 there were only three occasions where the bishop was appointed to investigate parochial matters in Argyll on papal orders.²¹¹ This could suggest that the bishop had been unwilling to properly exercise his authority in favour of the petitioner in the first place, thus prompting the need to obtain a higher justice in the form of papal provision. Generally, however, the papal letters did not encourage any interaction between the parish clergy and their bishop beyond that which was already commanded by canon law.

The mandates also show that the bishop was often cited to investigate cases in the neighbouring diocese of Sodor and the monasteries along the

²⁰⁹ *CPL, passim*. The official of Argyll also appears twice and various canons of Argyll were appointed executors on no less than 25 occasions. Because there were multiple canons in any given cathedral chapter, their actual names had to be provided.

²¹⁰ Barrell, *Papacy*, 121.

²¹¹ *CPL Clement VII*, 169; *CPL*, vii, 156; *CPL*, viii, 625.

western seaboard. In the late fourteenth century three mandates were issued to the bishop of Argyll to collate candidates to Iona Abbey, the abbacy of Saddell and the priory of Oronsay in Sodor diocese.²¹² This coincides with the period when the chapter of Lismore was successfully annexing churches to itself as prebends. From 1353 until 1427, all the mandates issued to the bishops exclusively concerned the ecclesiastical affairs of their diocese and that of neighbouring Sodor. However, following the appointment of George Lauder in 1427 there is an unmistakable swing towards the Lowlands and to his home diocese of St Andrews, most of which were doubtless attributable to Lauder's long episcopate and maintenance of close links with many Lowland clergy. The location of the bishop himself is revealed in the mandates he was given. After his request to leave the diocese on 29 April 1462, the cases to which the bishop of Argyll was nominated as an executor clearly point to his presence in the ecclesiastical scene of Glasgow. In the period between 1462 and 1512 he was appointed nine times as a papal executor, but only the first two of these related in any way to his own affairs in Argyll, and one of these even casts doubt upon his position in the diocese. On 26 January 1464 the bishop of Argyll, the chancellor of Glasgow and a canon of Glasgow, were named as the "upright men" of those parts given papal mandate to investigate the allegations made by Elizabeth Livingston against her husband Eoin, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, including adultery and ejection from his lands. They were to summon him, but with the proviso that if he was not safely accessible they were to make citations by edicts in public places "near those parts".²¹³ By 3 September 1479 the position of Bishop Raibeart appears more favourable, for he was appointed along with the prior of Ardchattan and the provost of Kilmun to listen to a case concerning Elizabeth Livingston and the bishop of Sodor.²¹⁴ Yet all of the remaining seven mandates given to the bishop of Argyll between 1462 and 1512 relate to capitular affairs in the cathedral and diocese of Glasgow, and support the belief that he was still residing in the Clyde region. Five of these occurred after 1508, which could indicate that, even after the annexation of Saddell Abbey, Bishop Hamilton was still present in the diocese of Glasgow.²¹⁵

²¹² *CPL Clement VII*, 85, 195; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 51.

²¹³ *CPL*, xi, 671.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xiii, 711.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi, no. 186; xvii, no. 80; xviii, nos. 38, 89, 108; xix, nos. 155, 598.

Returning to table 3, we also find chronological variations in the naming of the dignitaries as executors, variations that may point to the declining fortunes of the cathedral at Lismore in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Throughout the late fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, papal mandates were addressed to all the dignitaries of the chapter of Lismore. The bulk of these occur in the 1430s, while there are just a handful addressed to them throughout the rest of the century, and none at all after 1470. This cannot be solely attributed to a falling off in the number of requests made to Rome, for while it is true that there was an overall downward trend, the decades of the 1450s, 1460s and 1470s saw numerous appointments of executors for mandates in Argyll. The difference was that supplicants in Argyll were increasingly nominating the resident major prelates in the western seaboard, particularly the bishop and archdeacon of Sodor, and the heads of the religious houses of Saddell, Ardchattan and Iona. This would suggest that the decision of the bishop to leave the diocese in 1462 had a detrimental impact upon the exercise of episcopal authority within the diocese, or perhaps even the status and staffing of the dignitaries: the dean between 1462 and 1473 was allegedly non-resident and non-Gaelic-speaking while there are no precentors or chancellors on record during these decades.²¹⁶ Alternatively, it may add more weight to the claims of a couple of local clerics who complained about the lack of justice from the ordinary authority in the diocese.²¹⁷ Whatever the truth, the evidence of the appointment of executors provides a counterweight to the picture of a healthy diocesan administration found at Dumbarton in the early 1470s.

Despite James IV's impressive augmentation of the episcopal *mensa*, the sixteenth century was still characterised by continual complaints about episcopal poverty requiring remedial endowments by the Crown. Only one of the three men who held the bishopric after David Hamilton was actually consecrated, and even then it was only for a brief period between 1533 × 1536 and 29 August 1538.²¹⁸ Typically, the see of Argyll remained *sede vacante*, a situation which meant that the episcopal *mensa* was split, with the estates (the temporalities) administered via regalian right by the Crown for its own profit while the bishop-elect collected episcopal dues

²¹⁶ *Fasti*, 42–43.

²¹⁷ *CPL*, xii, 743; xiii, 172.

²¹⁸ Robert Montgomery was unconsecrated on 26 May 1533, but a royal presentation of 2 July 1536 was directed to the bishop rather than the vicar general. *Fasti*, 36; *RSS*, ii, no. 2074.

(spiritualities).²¹⁹ The consequences for pastoral care were potentially serious. Bishops were specifically required to confirm and ordain, and according to James V (writing in November 1529) Hebrideans born during the 17 year vacancy in Sodor had neither “baptism or other sacrament – not to speak of Christian teaching – and are not likely to have it unless a bishop be appointed”.²²⁰ Whether we believe this or not, there are no equivalent complaints made about Argyll, probably because the vicar general – the diocesan administrator charged with governance in the interim – received sufficient dispensation from his metropolitan (Glasgow) to minister the necessary sacraments in order to ensure the spiritual well-being of the diocese.²²¹ The vicar general of Argyll can be shown performing various administrative roles in the absence of the bishop, most obviously the collation of candidates to benefices in royal gift.²²²

In the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, James V gave two reasons why the bishops-elect of Argyll were unenthusiastic to receive consecration: the poverty of the see and the uncivilised nature of its people. The case for poverty certainly has strong support. In May 1532 he wrote that Robert Montgomery, bishop-elect, preferred to receive a yearly pension of £200 from the fruits rather than to occupy the position with an “inadequate” revenue.²²³ In this letter, James tried to appoint the future Cardinal David Beaton, who was then abbot of Arbroath and Keeper of the Privy Seal, to the bishopric of Argyll, ostensibly on the grounds that Beaton already had sufficient revenues from his other benefices to “becomingly” maintain himself and the see. However, this mirrored the king’s tactic of promoting heads of religious houses to bishoprics so that the vacant abbacies could be filled by his illegitimate sons, thereby bringing abbatial revenues into the royal coffers and resolving the Crown’s financial needs.²²⁴ Although Montgomery ultimately received consecration for a brief period before his death, neither of his successors sought to do so. William Cunningham’s nomination as bishop of Lismore and commendator of Saddell on

²¹⁹ Barrell, “Royal presentations”, 185–186.

²²⁰ *James V Letters*, 162.

²²¹ The parish priest usually administered baptism, and could administer confirmation at the point of death. It is more likely that James was implying that there was a dearth of ordained priests, whom the bishop alone could ordain, thus explaining his complaint regarding teaching. *Code of Canon Law* (Washington, 1983), canons 530, 1015–1018.

²²² RSS, ii, nos. 2724, 3092, 4595, 4719; iv, no. 1646.

²²³ *James V Letters*, 223.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*; T.W. Graham, “Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Scotland and the Papacy during the Pontificate of Paul III”, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Glasgow, 1992), 31, 36–39.

1 February 1539 adhered to the Stewarts' strategy of staffing the bishopric with men from the Stewartry whose loyalties could support royal efforts to secure Kintyre and the southern Hebrides. His father, the soon-to-be Earl of Glencairn, served as vice-admiral of James V's celebrated circumnavigation of Scotland in the summer of 1540 and remained behind in Kintyre with a royal garrison and a commission to survey crown lands.²²⁵ Possibly in anticipation of the voyage, on 15 February 1540 William was granted the right to present to all benefices in the diocese which were in royal gift for as long as he served as bishop.²²⁶ Though the appearance of two subsequent royal presentations in 1542 indicates that this substantial grant was ineffective, the absence of any further royal presentations following James's death (which had hitherto been fairly regular) until 28 August 1549 might suggest it was actually exercised for several years.²²⁷ In itself it paralleled a flurry of papal grants to Scottish bishops *ad vitam* of their right to present to benefices in their dioceses during the early 1540s.²²⁸ Nevertheless, this generous grant did not prompt Cunningham to seek consecration, nor prevent him exchanging the bishopric for the distinctly unremarkable deanery of Brechin in July 1553, in itself a useful barometer of how poorly regarded the see was in Lowland eyes. The next bishop-elect, James Hamilton, did not want it either, but it served as compensation for the papacy's rejection of his candidature to the archbishopric of Glasgow and provided a seat in parliament and ecclesiastical councils.²²⁹ The costs of paying annates to the *Curia* may also have been a disincentive; they certainly were in Sodor, though the payment there was triple that of Argyll.²³⁰ King James's reference to the "sterile" nature of the land also echoed the comments of his father James IV, who complained that the soil of Lismore was so infertile that it could not provide sufficient

²²⁵ *ER*, xviii, 625; J. Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–1542* (Edinburgh, 1998), 245–246, 247; Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 147–148; A. Cathcart, "Scots and Ulster: the late medieval context", in *Scotland and the Ulster Plantations: Explorations in the British Settlements of Stuart Ireland*, eds. W.P. Kelly and J.R. Young (Dublin, 2009), 62–83, at 80–81. A "Maister Duncan May" was one of the gunners at Dunaverty Castle in Kintyre in 1541. Could this be the same person as Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh, the prebendary of Kilberry and James V's principal surgeon? *TA*, vii, 444; Appendix A, no. 267.

²²⁶ *RSS*, ii, no. 3364.

²²⁷ Barrell, "Royal presentations", 182, n. 6; *RSS*, ii, nos. 4579, 4719; iv, no. 406.

²²⁸ Graham, "Scotland and the Papacy", 26–27.

²²⁹ R.K. Hannay, "Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers", *SHR* 22 (1925), 25–41, 35–37; *Fasti*, 37. Bishop-elect Montgomery received a citation to a provincial synod by Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, while Cunningham attended the Provincial Council of 1549. *Statutes*, 85, 241–242.

²³⁰ *James V Letters*, 162; see above, p. 63 and n. 14.

food to sustain a resident bishop and chapter.²³¹ The isle of Lismore (from *Lios mòr*, or 'big garden') was actually reputed for the fertility of its soil, so this might simply reflect a general perception often voiced by medieval Lowland literati that the Scots Gaels lived in the "mare horrible places" in the kingdom.²³² Nevertheless, the complaints of the chronic poverty of the see are corroborated by the relatively paltry tax contribution of the bishopric of Lismore (including the annexed barony of Saddell) in to the College of Justice in 1546. At £7 it was the lowest payment of all the Scottish bishoprics, lower even than Sodor (£8, and 8s), and just half that of Iona at £14.²³³

Reference to the incivility of the populace was specifically tied to their location "adjacent to Ireland and the Isles, at the very back of the realm", which placed them beyond the borders of civilisation and made it difficult to preserve ecclesiastical discipline among a "lawless folk".²³⁴ This could refer in part to the difficulties the Crown was facing trying to enforce its rights of presentation in churches which had fallen to them following the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, and to the endemic violence and disorder which engulfed the western seaboard in the sixteenth century, known in Gaelic as *Linn nan Creach* – 'the Age of Forays'.²³⁵ However, it also implies that the attitude of potential candidates to the office was coloured by the increasingly hostile stereotypical depiction of the Scottish Gael in the Lowlands.²³⁶ In this respect the circulation of the tale of the clash between the bishop and his clergy in 1452 may have been influential. It resonated with Lowlanders because it encapsulated the behavioural traits of language, barbarity, rebellion and violence associated with Gaelic Scots in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. An indication of its continuing transmission in Lowland circles may be found in the fictional character of "Makfadyan(e)" – the Irish traitor in Blind Hary's *Wallace*

²³¹ *James IV Letters*, 245.

²³² MacGregor, "Gaelic Barbarity", 18. One seventeenth-century account described Lismore as "most fertill in cornis, and fishes taken in the nearest sea". *Geog. Coll.*, ii, 155. See also Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1772 (1774 and 1776: Edinburgh, 1998), 359; *New Statistical Account of Scotland [NSA]*, 15 vols. (Edinburgh, 1845), vii, 224, 234–237; I.A. Fraser, "The Place-names of Argyll", in *The Argyll Book*, ed. D. Omand (2004: Edinburgh, 2006), 243–254, at 245. Alternatively, *Lios mòr* may mean 'big walled enclosure', perhaps in reference to the monastic vallum. MacDonald, "Lismore and Eigg", 49.

²³³ *ADC 1501–1554*, 542.

²³⁴ *James V Letters*, 364.

²³⁵ Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 36–37.

²³⁶ MacGregor, "Gaelic Barbarity", 15–26.

(c. 1476–1478) and the demonic Highlander in William Dunbar's *Dance of the Sevin Deidly Sins* (1505 or 1507), whose name surely derives from the treasurer of Argyll, Muiris MacPhaidein.²³⁷ Given this cultural environment, it is conceivable that the particular association of the tale with the see of Argyll further damaged its reputation and desirability among Lowland candidates, and ultimately perhaps, that it adversely affected the proper running of the diocese in the sixteenth century. The elephant in the corner was, of course, Clann Chaimbeul. They would certainly not have shared such apathy towards the bishopric with numerous local clergymen who were doubtless anxious to fill the role. However, it was precisely because of their regional supremacy within Argyll itself which ruled them out as realistic candidates from a royal perspective.

While Kings James IV and V were certainly correct to highlight the economic difficulties faced by candidates to the see of Argyll and the problems posed by the location of the cathedral church, the ecclesiastical history of the bishops during the previous century and a half demonstrated that the see was not as debilitated as either of them implied, nor was it solely reliant upon the success or otherwise of Lismore Cathedral. The economic hardship was not, moreover, attributable to the “sterility of the soil” but to the failure of the bishopric to attract sufficient endowment from the laity, the blame for which lies in a combination of factors, but most especially with the Crown itself, which only supported the bishopric when it was strategically advantageous for it to do so. In contrast to the apparent disinterest among Lowlanders for the office in the sixteenth century, the men who staffed the bishopric in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were all highly-educated, capable individuals who exhibited a serious, and at times zealous, commitment to defending their rights in a diocese which was overwhelmingly under the control of the lay nobility. The long episcopate of Bishop George Lauder was of seminal importance for the subsequent history of the bishopric, as he attempted, initially with active royal support, to bolster the presentational powers of the see and to introduce clerics whose loyalty could be relied upon. The death of James I was not as damaging to Lauder's prospects as has been thought, but his perceived favour towards fellow Lowlanders certainly was. This, together with his decision to relocate the episcopate upon the Firth of Clyde, appears to

²³⁷ *Hary's Wallace*, i, pp. xiv–xxvi, 157–166; ii, 206–207; *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. P. Bawcutt, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1998), i, 152; ii, 384; J. Baxter, *William Dunbar: a biographical study* (Edinburgh, 1952), 154–156.

have provoked anger among the local members of his cathedral chapter in Lismore. Although the diocesan administration continued to function, this decision may have done more damage to the episcopate than might be imagined. Given that Lismore was chosen because of the sanctity of St Mo Luóc the decision to relocate could be regarded as undermining one of the key tenets upon which the bishopric of Argyll was founded. Moreover, one wonders about the potential economic losses the bishop may have incurred by effectively abandoning St Mo Luóc's Cathedral, and whether the episcopal tithes were still regularly collected by the custodian of the *Bachull Mòr*. If they were not, and there is no way of proving it, then the references to the "small rents" and poverty of the see after 1452 would take on a whole new meaning.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGINS OF THE CLERGY

Within the wider Scottish context much remains to be done in terms of understanding the number, origins, and careers of late medieval Scottish secular clergy. In contrast with England and Ireland, where a substantial corpus of secondary historiography already exists, there are few detailed or systematic analyses of the medieval Scottish clergy at either a national or regional level.¹ This is no doubt attributable to the poor survival rate of Scottish ecclesiastical sources, though Ireland also suffered from material losses.² However, the papal supplications provide an array of valuable information suitable for prosopographical analysis, including nobility of blood, illegitimacy and education. In some instances it is possible to deduce a cleric's likely descent and, where the evidence exists, to reconstruct their genealogical links with regional magnates. In addition, the supplications enable us to reconstruct the course of a particular cleric's ecclesiastical career, and the order of succession to benefices. The following four chapters scrutinise the diocesan clergy of Argyll as a whole, their social and geographical origins, birth, schooling and career path. However, before any analysis is undertaken we must first establish how many recorded clergy were active in the secular Church in Argyll between the 1340s and the Scottish Reformation of 1560. The focus on this period simply reflects our documentary sources, which only really begin to appear in any volume with the growth of papal provisions from the 1340s and more especially

¹ In addition to those noted earlier (see above, p. 3, n. 10), the only Scottish works which I am aware of are M. Dilworth, "The Social Origins of Scottish Medieval Monks", *RSCHS* 20 (1980), 197–209 and J. Durkan, "Chaplain in Late Medieval Scotland", *RSCHS* 20 (1980), 91–103. For studies of the English and Irish clergy see pp. 2–3, nn. 7, 8. See also J.T. Rosenthal, "The Northern Clergy: Clerical Wills and Family Ties", *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 147–159, at 155, n. 11 which provides a list of studies into the background of the English secular clergy. See also V. Davis, "Irish clergy in late medieval England", *Irish Historical Studies* 32 (2000), 145–160; A. Empey, "Irish clergy in the high and late Middle Ages", in *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000–2000: messengers, watchmen and stewards*, eds. T.C. Barnard and W.G. Neely (Dublin, 2006), 6–43.

² G. Donaldson, *The Sources of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1978), 26–27. The Armagh episcopal registers are the only surviving ones of their type in Ireland. See J. Watt, "The Church and the Two Nations in Late Medieval Armagh", in *The Churches, Ireland and the Irish*, eds. W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (Oxford, 1989), 37–54.

from the 1380s onwards; the paucity of material for Argyll before this date renders the inclusion of earlier clergy impractical.

THE NUMBER OF CLERICAL PERSONNEL

Correctly identifying the total number of beneficed clergy in Argyll is not a straightforward task, due in no small part to the distinct naming patterns of the late medieval Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*. There was a considerable flexibility in naming which allowed a single individual to identify himself in a variety of ways.³ An individual could identify himself by patronymic, whereby the son's forename would be followed by the father's forename in the genitive case, and occasionally the name of the grandfather would also be given. This was a common formula in late medieval West Highland sculpture and was frequently employed by petitioning clergy.⁴ Alternatively, an individual could choose to identify himself by surname, of which there were three different classifications: the name of the wider clan kindred, the name of his own cadet kindred (the Kingairloch branch of Clann Ghill-Eathain (the MacLeans) often used the name *MacEachainn* (anglicised as *MacEachen*)) and, if applicable, the name of an occupation associated with the lineage (*Mac a'Ghobhainn* (anglicised as *MacGowan*)) was used by a family of smiths from the Mac an Aba (anglicised as *MacNab*) kindred).⁵ Each of these were equally valid and some clerics switched between patronymic and surname in their petitions to the *Curia*. In two petitions of 1388 the dean (and future bishop) of Argyll used the patronymic forms "Benedictus Johannis" and "Beanus Johannis Andree" to identify himself [Gaelic Beathán mac Eoin mhic Ghill-Anndrais], but in another issued a few weeks later he used his kindred name: "B[e]than Macgilleaus" [Beathán MacGill-Anndrais], probably to distinguish himself from two other contemporary namesakes.⁶ Similarly, when the perpetual vicar of Kilchoman in Islay supplicated for the rectories of Kilcolmkill in Morvern and Gigha in April 1498 he used the patronymic form "Johannes Donaldi" [Eoin mac Dhòmhnaill], but in a royal presentation following

³ *LMMS*, 87; M. MacGregor, "Genealogies of the clans: contributions to the study of MS 1467", *IR* 51:2 (2000), 131–146, 140.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See *LMMS*, 130–131, 145.

⁶ Appendix A, no. 395. "Beanus Johannis" was archdeacon of Sodor (1372–1397) and sometimes surnamed "Macuilquen" [Gaelic *MacGille-Cuidhean*, anglicised *MacQueen*]. A "Beanus Johannis" was also dean of Argyll (c. 1398–1420 × 1433). *Fasti*, 40, 272.

his death he was called "Johannes Iudex" [Eoin Breitheamh].⁷ The latter indicates that he descended from a kindred of lawmen, though again it did not necessarily imply that his kinsmen were still practising as such.

The complexities of the Gaelic naming system were compounded by the clergy's practice of rendering forenames from their native tongue into Latin whenever they were written down, which causes real problems whenever individuals are identified only by patronymic. Different Latin names were frequently employed to denote a single Gaelic personal name, and vice-versa. *Bricius* and *Gilbertus* were regularly used to signify Gaelic *Gille-Brighde*, while *Colinus* and *Malcolmus* could represent Gaelic *Gille-Coluim*, *Maol-Coluim* and *Cailean*.⁸ These forms were interchangeable, and at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a canon named "Malcolm Cristini" featured several times as "Colin Cristini".⁹ Similarly, *Donnchadh* was normally Latinised as *Duncanus*, but on occasion *Dominicus*, which normally denoted *Maol-Dòmhnach*, was also employed as an equivalent.¹⁰

There are, however, positive aspects of Gaelic naming that can make the correct identification of an individual easier. Not only did many clerics provide their kindred surname, but they always provided it in a phonetic form of the original Gaelic vernacular, which makes it easier to determine their probable geographical origins. Thus, as a general rule, clergy from the Scots-speaking Lowlands had Lowland surnames while the vast majority of Gaels used the *mac* or *ó* prefix.¹¹ Admittedly, there are late medieval Lowland clergy who used the Latinised patronymic form too which demonstrates the need for caution, though there are only a couple of likely instances in Argyll.¹² The conservatism of usage in the Gaelic naming

⁷ Appendix A, no. 440.

⁸ *LMMS*, 106, 120, 139, 152–153.

⁹ He only appeared as *Colin* when appointed papal executor or when referred to posthumously. He himself only ever used *Malcolm*. Appendix A, nos. 177, 248.

¹⁰ *LMMS*, 124, 141. In Spring 1428 a petitioner for the rectories of Kilchrist and Waternish in Skye was referred to as both "Dominicus Patricii" and "Duncanus Patricii". *CSSR*, ii, 204, 206, 208, 230; iv, no. 812; *CPL*, viii, 9, 14; *ACSB*, 96, 97.

¹¹ *CSSR*, i, pp. xxxv–xxxvi; *LMMS*, 88.

¹² *CSSR*, i, pp. xxxvi, n. 1. "Malcolm Johannis", dean of Argyll (1432 × 1433–1462), was also described as "Malcolm of Dunblane", "Malcolm Johnson" and "Mathon de Lori" and could be of either Lowland or Gaelic origin. *Fasti*, 40; *Calendar of the Laing Charters 854–1837*, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1889), 37, no. 143. *LMMS*, 145 suggests that "John Arbri" (shortened from "Aurifabri"), rector of Kilmory in Arran in 1477, was a member of a family of Gaelic smiths. However, he also appears as "Johannes Goldsmyth" or Goldsmith, canon of Glasgow and petitioner for the archdeaconry in 1490. *Fasti*, 48; *Glas. Reg.*, ii, 420, 463, 489; *Glas. Rent.*, ii, *passim*; *CSSR*, vi, nos. 479, 504, 1166.

system means that we can also be reasonably confident about associating certain forenames with particular kindreds.¹³ By supplying patrilineal descent, patronymics lend themselves to the establishment of conjectural lines of familial descent and, potentially, of networks of patronage which may have been in operation. Papal and local sources also provide a wealth of biographical material, including origin, kinship with nobility, diocesan designation and academic qualifications which can be used to differentiate between clergy and to suggest likely geographical origins. Whilst it is important to stress the grounds for caution when using such material, it would be equally wrong to over-emphasise the risk, and the actual number of seriously ambiguous cases is small. When the names of clergy and their benefices are categorised alongside occurrences of illegitimacy and education, we can confidently expect the estimated figures given here to be reasonably accurate.

Altogether there were approximately 419 individual clerics associated with the secular Church in Argyll between 1342 and 1560.¹⁴ Unfortunately, there is almost no scholarly work on late medieval clerical statistics in Scotland, either nationally or at a diocesan level, with which to make comparative analysis. Alexander Grant suggests that there were roughly 3000 to 4000 churchmen in the late medieval period, while Leslie MacFarlane estimates that there were approximately 150 secular priests working in the diocese of Aberdeen in 1514.¹⁵ This figure, however, is based upon the chance survival of diocesan registers from a single year, whereas that of Argyll is derived from over 200 years. Moreover, our Argyll count is limited to those clergy who sought papal provision to specific benefices or featured in the archives of major secular kindreds. Many of the parish churches have only one or two clerics associated with them, while there are no recorded clerics at all in the churches of Strathlachlan and Moidart.¹⁶ In these circumstances it is debateable how worthwhile or valid raw numerical comparisons actually are.

Perhaps more telling are the themes cited by the Argyll clergy in their papal supplications in comparison with those of their Irish colleagues. It was always in the interests of supplicants to describe the local situation

¹³ *LMMS*, 154.

¹⁴ For additional cathedral clergy see MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", appendix A, nos. 446–459.

¹⁵ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 89; MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 215.

¹⁶ Janet MacDonald, "Iona's Local Associations", 122, 257, argues that Moidart and Eilean Fhionain are identical.

in the worst possible terms in order to win a favourable decision from the *Curia*, and both Irish and Argyllshire clerics did so: they included all kinds of issues from non-promotion to the priesthood, illegitimacy, concubinage, the inability to speak the local idiom, and even murder.¹⁷ However, Irish clerics also cited the “dearth of suitable persons” and the “great lack of clerks”, a theme which, significantly, never once appeared in all of the petitions emanating from Argyll between 1342 and 1560.¹⁸ This could suggest that a lack of clergy was not considered a serious or plausible issue in the diocese.

This is further supported by the large numbers of clergy who feature in the papal petitions and in secular charters without a benefice to support them. About 354 of the 419 clergy can actually be confirmed as holding benefices in Argyll at some point during their lives, and in some cases their ecclesiastical incomes are unknown.¹⁹ The remaining 65 were either supplicants for benefices, some of whom perhaps obtained subsequent possession, or were clergy simply claiming to belong to the diocese of Argyll. Altogether there were some 123 additional clergy and candidates to orders on record in the late medieval diocese between 1342 and 1560. Several of these held benefices in, or were designated as belonging to, another Scottish diocese, but some bore the title *dominus*, the ecclesiastical designation of a secular priest who had not attended university, while others were chaplains, servants and familiars in the service of secular lords, insecure employment typical of the unbeneficed.²⁰ There were also those who supplicated the Papal Penitentiary for dispensations to enter Major Orders, only four of whom subsequently featured among the beneficed.²¹ This may well be attributable to the fragmentary nature of our records, but it is also possible that there were no benefices available as the Church was already well staffed. Whether the unbeneficed in Argyll were as plentiful as they were in late medieval England – where they outnumbered the beneficed by two to one or more²² – cannot be answered, but a considerable surplus appears certain.

¹⁷ Empey, “Irish Clergy”, 12.

¹⁸ *CPP*, 467, 469; Empey, “Irish Clergy”, 9.

¹⁹ See Appendix A, nos. 376–385.

²⁰ *Protocol Book of James Young 1485–1515*, ed. G. Donaldson (SRS, 1952), p. ix. It has, however, been argued that *dominus* designated those who attained a B.A.

²¹ See below, p. 168, n. 30.

²² Lepine, “England: Church and Clergy”, 371.

THE ORIGINS OF THE SECULAR CLERGY

Regional studies of late medieval West Highland society have necessarily included some examination of the beneficed clergy. Thomson contends that Gaelic Scotland was no different from the rest of late medieval Scotland in regarding the Church as one the leading professions alongside law and medicine.²³ The greater magnates (Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul) controlled the patronage of many churches in the diocese and were able to ensure that their kinsmen maintained possession of ecclesiastical offices, and also provided openings for individuals drawn from the learned orders or *aos dána* ('men of art') – a kind of Gaelic 'civil service' – with ecclesiastical preferment: "The Church, sharing with the secular learned orders the patronage of nobles and chiefs, attracted many members, probably younger sons, of the learned families".²⁴ Thomson's initial observations were augmented by Bannerman's detailed studies of indigenous sculpture and literacy, and, more recently, by MacGregor's discussion of the relationship between Gaelic secular culture and the local Church.²⁵ Essential as these studies are, none of them concentrate primarily upon the clergy as a whole. These analyses are restricted to a handful of clergy who were either derived from learned kindreds, actively engaged in the artistic and intellectual activities associated with them, or those with sufficient wealth and interest in commissioning local sculpture.²⁶ All of them, moreover, describe the clergy *en masse* without differentiating between secular and regular clergy or between the dioceses of Argyll and Sodor.²⁷ This approach has had consequences, one of which has been the tendency to overlook the substantial contribution of non-local Lowland clergy present in Argyll, which is absent in the Hebrides.

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS

The two chief methods of establishing geographical origins are by surname and diocesan designation. Reservations have been correctly expressed

²³ Thomson, "Learned Orders", 65–66.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 67, 75.

²⁵ *LMMS*, 88–89; Bannerman, "Lordship", 228–232; Bannerman, "Literacy", 219–222; MacGregor, "Church and culture", *passim*.

²⁶ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 1; *LMMS*, 88–89.

²⁷ The examples cited tend to be from the monasteries along the western seaboard or churches in the Kintyre peninsula, largely because the surviving crown rentals for North and South Kintyre of 1505 and 1506 provide more detailed information for the landholding structure of the lordship than elsewhere in Argyll.

about the dangers of using surnames (especially those based on place-names) which may not take potential migration into account. However, using diocesan designation in conjunction with what is known of a cleric's career can help us deduce likely origins.²⁸ Before doing so, however, the first distinction to be made is between Lowland and Gaelic clergy. Because of the different naming systems in the Scots-speaking Lowlands and the *Gàidhealtachd*, and because Lowlanders generally favoured identifying themselves by surname rather than patronymic, it is a relatively straightforward matter to calculate how many originated from the Lowlands. Approximately 279 were individuals with Gaelic surnames or patronymics, 90 had Lowland surnames and a further 50 were of uncertain origin. This indicates that roughly one-fifth of the secular clergy were probably Lowlanders, which is corroborated by the significant proportion of clergy who stated that they belonged to a different diocese. As most diocesan designations were made during adulthood they can sometimes refer to the place where an individual's ecclesiastical career started rather than his actual birthplace.²⁹ For example, Ruairidh MacGhill-Eathain although belonging to the branch kindred of Kingairloch near Morvern, initially appeared as a clerk of the diocese of Ross in a supplication of April 1543.³⁰ In about 11 cases the diocesan designation changed during the course of an individual's career, either because he had obtained a benefice in another diocese, or because he had received promotion to a higher order in another diocese. In such cases the designation which occurs earliest in an individual's career (and when he was in the lowest orders) might appear the most reliable indication of origin, but not all Argyll clergy were represented and many only appear once or twice. This can mean too much weight is placed upon the designations given, leaving their true origins obscured.³¹ Diocesan attributions can also occasionally conflict with origins suggested by an individual's surname.³²

A more representative picture is provided by using diocesan designation in conjunction with all the other biographical information at our

²⁸ P. McClure, "Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames", *The Economic History Review* 32 (1979), 167–182; D. Lepine, "The Origins and Careers of the Canons of Exeter Cathedral, 1300–1455", in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), 87–120, at 88–89.

²⁹ Lepine, "Origins and Careers", 88. Notaries' designation referred to where their admission into the office occurred. *James Young Protocol Bk.*, p. vii.

³⁰ *LMMS*, 130–131; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2486, fol. 258v.

³¹ Lepine, "Origins and Careers", 88.

³² For example, "Donaldus Nigelli Makphaell" was presumably a MacPhàil [anglicised *MacPhail*], but was designated as a cleric of Ross diocese. Appendix A, no. 236.

disposal, such as the origins suggested by kindred surname and what is known about an individual cleric's parentage, career and place of burial. For example, "Duncan Macneyles" [Donnchadh MacNiallghuis, anglicised as *MacNeilage*], vicar of Lochgoilhead (× 1441), bears no diocesan designation, but can be confidently identified as local to Cowal because contemporary kindred members lived and were commemorated there.³³ The benefice held is particularly important with regard to the benefices in Kintyre and Morvern, most of which were in the presentation of the lords of the Isles and regularly gifted to clergy from Sodor. Altogether there is sufficient biographical information to make an intelligent assessment of the likely geographical origins of about 334 of our secular churchmen between 1342 and 1560 (illustrated on map 4). This serves as no more than a rough guide but shows that around two-thirds of all those associated with the secular Church and whose origins can be deduced were local men from Argyll. Of the remaining third, the vast majority originated from just three dioceses: neighbouring Sodor, closely followed by the predominantly Lowland dioceses of Glasgow and St Andrews. Although there are no other parallel diocesan studies of the Scottish clergy, it is instructive to note the contrast with neighbouring Sodor during the fifteenth century, where, with the notable exceptions of Arran and Bute, there were hardly any instances of Lowland clergymen.³⁴

Further examination of the non-local clergy from beyond the West Highlands (i.e. outside of the dioceses of Argyll and Sodor) shows a sharp contrast in the numbers arriving before and after 1425; whilst over 90% occurred between 1426 and 1560, the period between 1342 and 1425 witnessed just a trickle of papal supplications for Argyll's benefices, and only one non-local incumbent in the diocese.³⁵ This was not attributable to an absence of litigation or ignorance of vacancies that existed, for there were some 50 secular churchmen from the rest of Scotland actively engaged as executors of papal mandates in Argyll between 1380 and 1425. This role necessarily brought them in contact with the local situation in the diocese and, one may presume, an appreciation of potential opportunities.

³³ See below, p. 142 and n. 167.

³⁴ See below, pp. 120–22, and nn. 57, 58. Robert Thom, from St Andrews diocese, is the only clear instance. *CSSR*, v, no. 340. "John de Carric" and Andrew of Dunoon, archdeacons of Sodor, are two other prominent examples. However, Dunoon was able to speak some Gaelic, while Carrick (John's presumed birthplace) was a Gaelic-speaking region in South Ayrshire. *Fasti*, 272–273; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 349–350; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 833, 834; Thomas, "From Rome", 47–49. For Dunoon's origins, see below, p. 119, n. 49.

³⁵ Appendix A, no. 4.

However, that few showed any interest indicates that such opportunities were not numerous. After 1425 there was a sudden escalation in the number of non-local clergy litigating for and obtaining provision.

There are several explanations for the escalation in non-local clergy, all of which are rooted in the political and ecclesiastical integration of Argyll into the rest of the Scottish kingdom during the fifteenth century. On one level it may be interpreted within the context of the dramatic changes brought by the return of James I in 1424 and his intensive efforts to impose a centralist monarchy upon the Scots.³⁶ The episcopate of his kinsman George Lauder (1427–1473) signalled the arrival of numerous Lowland incumbents and a continual stream of papal petitions from Lowland clerics anxious to acquire benefices in the diocese.³⁷ Bishop Lauder is named as responsible for the collation of at least 16 clergy, of whom eight were non-local, seven local, and one unknown.³⁸ Although this does not seem a great number, there is little doubt that Lauder was the driving force behind several more Lowland petitions, especially among kinsmen from his home diocese of St Andrews.³⁹ This practice was not unusual; in Exeter successive non-local bishops were responsible for an influx of canons from outside the diocese by bringing in clergy from their previous centres of activity.⁴⁰ The collation of further Lowlanders to churches in Kintyre and Knapdale during the early to mid-sixteenth century was probably tied to the strategic goals of the Ayrshire bishops-elect and their kinsmen who were anxious to expand their territorial power and a Crown desirous to receive rents.⁴¹ There is little doubt that the presence of prominent Lowlanders in the bishopric who were backed by the government would have encouraged clerics from other dioceses to supplicate for benefices they would not have previously considered.

However, most of the benefices were under the control of the native magnates, the clan chiefs, and in the longer term it was they who were

³⁶ Brown, *James I*, 201–208.

³⁷ Between 1427 and 1473 at least 28 secular clergy came from beyond Argyll and Sodor, and a further 11 bore Lowland-sounding names.

³⁸ Non-local clerics: Appendix A, nos. 38, 73, 117–118, 176, 181; *CSSR*, v, no. 403; *CPL*, xii, 743. Local clerics: Appendix A, nos. 178, 182, 198, 361, 464; *CSSR*, v, no. 1067. Unknown origin: Malcolm Johannis de Dunblane. See above, p. 111, n. 12.

³⁹ He probably collated kinsmen James and John Lauder to the vicarages of Glenorchy and Lochgoilhead, and Robert “Fevyr”, a Fifeshire cleric who held the bishop’s old vicarage of Crail with an unfulfilled claim to a canonry and prebend in Argyll. Appendix A, nos. 123, 358, 381.

⁴⁰ Lepine, “Origins and Careers”, 93.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 97–98, 105; Appendix A, nos. 190–192, 205–206, 225–226, 276–277.

largely responsible for the increasing numbers of non-local ecclesiastics in Argyll. Initially, this could be interpreted as a defensive response to the interventionist policies of James I and, within an ecclesiastical context, of Bishop Lauder. Stephen Boardman has highlighted the Lowland origins of the canons of Kilmun Collegiate Church in July 1452 and has suggested that its creation in 1441 was partially intended to reassert lay control over the churches of Glenorchy and Lochgoilhead while assuaging royal and Lowland suspicions of Gaelic society.⁴² Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe appreciated that the interests of Clann Chaimbeul “could no longer be defended through a pursuit of regional goals alone; a Campbell presence in the institutions, assemblies and emerging aristocracy centred on the Crown was also essential”.⁴³ Similarly, the lords of the Isles appreciated the value of fostering closer ties with the Crown and aristocracy, both to pursue and then cement their claim to the earldom of Ross.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, many non-local clerics from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear to have owed their Argyll livings either to ties of kinship via strategic marriage alliances, or through connections they established with the native magnates at court or in other regions of their lordship beyond the western seaboard. The clearest manifestation of this was the Scrymgeour constables of Dundee and lords of Glassary. As patrons of Glassary parish church, they consistently presented clerical kinsmen from their principal lordship on the east coast, though whether they can be classed as local is debatable.⁴⁵ The bulk of non-local clergy in Argyll possessed connections to Clann Chaimbeul, which is perhaps unsurprising given their increasing domination of ecclesiastical patronage and the progressively central role their chief, the Earl of Argyll, played in the Scottish realm from the 1460s onwards.⁴⁶ At least three (and doubtless several more) of the nine Montgomery and Cunningham clergy from Ayrshire who appeared during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were directly related to Clann Chaimbeul through marriages contracted with the earls of Argyll and the Lowland Campbells of Loudoun.⁴⁷

⁴² Boardman, *Campbells*, 143; Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 138–139.

⁴³ Boardman, *Campbells*, 131.

⁴⁴ *ALI*, pp. xxxiv, lxiv–lxx; MacDougall, “Lordship of the Isles and Stewart Kings”, 250–251.

⁴⁵ Appendix A, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9–11, 13–15, 21–22.

⁴⁶ Boardman, *Campbells*, chap. 7, 202–203.

⁴⁷ *RSS*, iv, nos. 2402, 2429; W. Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries Earls of Eglinton*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1859), i, 32, 34; ii, 110, 112, 122, 128, 158; Boardman, *Campbells*, 215–216, 287, n. 56.

As regards ecclesiastical benefices controlled by Clann Dòmhnail, the vast majority of non-Argyll clergy derived from their Hebridean lordship in Sodor (discussed below); there is no evidence that they were responsible for the presentations of individuals from Glasgow and St Andrews dioceses to benefices in Argyll or Sodor.⁴⁸ However, two non-Argyll clerics, James Wick and Thomas de Munro [Tòmas Mac an Rothaich] – both of the diocese of Ross – received ecclesiastical livings that coincided with the lords of the Isles' 40 year rule as the earls of Ross (c. 1436–1475).⁴⁹ Although their number is markedly lower than the contribution of Clann Chaimbeul, it still supports the impression that the increased presence of non-local ecclesiastical personnel in Argyll was principally tied to the patronage networks of the ruling ecclesiastical and secular elite in Argyll.

However, we see the same strategy employed within a Gaelic context also, chiefly in the provision of Sodor clerics to benefices in Argyll under Clann Dòmhnail patronage, and in the provision of clergy from the Breadalbane region of the diocese of Dunkeld to benefices controlled by the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul. Beyond the dioceses of Glasgow and St Andrews, the most significant contribution of non-Argyll clergy came from neighbouring Sodor and, to a far lesser degree, Dunkeld. The prominence of Sodor is hardly unexpected; its diocesan border with Argyll stretched hundreds of miles along the western seaboard and was far longer than any other, while the secular lordship of Clann Dòmhnail encompassed Morvern and Kintyre and included branch and client kindreds such as Clann Raghnaill (the Clanranald), Clann Ghill-Eathain (the MacLeans) and Clann Néill (the MacNeills) of Gigha, who simultaneously possessed lands in both dioceses.⁵⁰ There are several cases where it is difficult to decide which diocese an individual belonged to, and the degree of interaction and movement between these dioceses in certain regions such as Kintyre cautions us against drawing too strict an approach.

⁴⁸ See nn. 34, 57, 58. Note the contrast with those associated with livings in Arran, outside the lordship of Clann Dòmhnail.

⁴⁹ *ALI*, nos. 96, 120, 125, appendix C, pp. 254–255, 272. See also below, p. 221, Appendix A, nos. 181, 407. Andrew of Dunoon, archdeacon of Sodor (1441–56 × 57) is another example, being derived from the Denoon family from Ross-shire. An “Andreas de Dunnowne” featured in a charter of retour before Gill-easbuig, Lord of Lochalsh concerning the lands of the two Cadbolls at Dingwall on 22 April 1461. Thomas Dingwall, rector of Kilchoman in Islay before c. 1463, also belonged to the Ross-shire nobility. *ALI*, no. 71, appendix C, p. 253; *Surnames*, 205–206; W. Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1871–77), iii, 704.

⁵⁰ *ALI*, pp. xxv, xxvi–xxix. Gigha pertained to the diocese of Sodor.

The overwhelming majority of Sodor clergy who appear in Argyll as incumbents or litigants were almost exclusively associated with livings in the deaneries of Kintyre and Morvern (see map 5). Not all of these benefices were in the ecclesiastical patronage of Clann Dòmhnail, but they were all within the boundaries of their secular control or allegiance. The largest single concentration was at Kilcolmkill in Morvern, the parish church of Ardtornish Castle, perhaps the most important Clann Dòmhnail residence in Argyll.⁵¹ Indeed, closer inspection of the Sodor group reveals that the lordship of the Isles figured heavily throughout their ecclesiastical careers. Many either bore surnames of Hebridean origin or were associated with livings in the Isles; at least eight were connected with benefices on Islay, and five with the church of Kilchoman, another parish where the Lord of the Isles occasionally resided.⁵² Some, such as “Angus Donaldi [Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail] de Insulis” and “Angus Johannis [Aonghas mac Eoin] de Insulis”, were leading members of Clann Dòmhnail, while others like “John Donaldi” (also surnamed Iudex) belonged to professional kindreds involved in local administration.⁵³ Collectively, there is a strong impression of a network of ecclesiastical preferment operating under the umbrella of Clann Dòmhnail lordship with the churches of Kilcolmkill in Morvern and Kilchoman at its axis. A similar network was perhaps at work between Kilcolmkill in Kintyre and Kildalton in Islay, whose church benefices seem to have been held simultaneously by two members of the Ó Brolcháin kindred in between the 1460s and 1530s, though this could be simply indicative of the considerable degree of movement of ecclesiastics between Islay and Kintyre.⁵⁴

By contrast with Kintyre and Morvern, the only two Sodor clerics who were associated with parochial benefices in the deaneries of Lorn and Glassary were designated as “de Arran” and “de Bute”; in other words they probably originated from outside of the lordship of the Isles and thus outside its ecclesiastical network.⁵⁵ This echoes Steer and Bannerman’s

⁵¹ Appendix A, nos. 433, 436, 440, 442–443, 446.

⁵² *Monro’s Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans, 1549*, ed. R.W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1961), 57.

⁵³ For their social origins see below, pp. 129–30; 152 and n. 216.

⁵⁴ Appendix A, nos. 182–183, 186. See also *CSSR*, iv, no. 938.

⁵⁵ “John de Aran”, alleged rector of Kilmore (1424–1425) and “Duncan Meckaodich de But”, rector of Kilmodan (× 1392). Appendix A, nos. 55, 318. The designation “of Bute” borne by the latter figure may suggest he belonged to a local dynasty identified by Boardman that were displaced by the arrival of the Stewarts in Bute in the thirteenth century, one of whom also bore the forename “Duncan” [*Donnchadh*]. Patronage of Kilmodan pertained to Robert III in 1396. Boardman, “The Gaelic World and the Early Stewart Court”, 95, n. 33.

observation that the general absence of West Highland sculpture from Arran and Bute was attributable to their political affiliation with the Stewarts.⁵⁶ However, while this sculptural tradition was still relatively abundant in Mid-Argyll and Lorn, the restriction of Sodor clergy to the mainland regions of Clann Dòmhnail lordship indicates that ecclesiastical preferment was closely tied to, and perhaps even pre-determined by, political affiliation. This is also borne out by the succession of clergy in Arran and Bute themselves, where Lowland clergy monopolised the parsonages of their four parish churches during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵⁷ This was in sharp contrast with the rest of Sodor. The only interruption to this sequence occurred in the rectory of Kilmory in Arran, where a succession of local Gaelic incumbents were recorded between the 1420s and 1460s. Significantly, this coincided with a period of *de facto* possession of the island by a kindred associated with Clann Dòmhnail and can almost certainly be attributed to their influence, indirectly or otherwise.⁵⁸ It is hard to believe that the clergy were not conscious themselves of how these networks of patronage could shape their ecclesiastical career, and one petition of October 1408 by a Sodor cleric

A contemporary and probable kinsman, "Donald de Bute", held the deanery of Dunblane during the episcopate of "Dugallus Petri", former rector of Kilmory in Lorn and chaplain and secretary to Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith in 1380. *Fasti*, 106; *CPP*, 554. Further evidence of a Stewart network during the later fourteenth century is suggested by the figure of "John de Cornton", who was rector of Kilmory before 1395, before he exchanged with "John Dugalli" (probable son of "Dugallus Petri", for which see below, pp. 148–49) for Monzievairst in the diocese of Dunblane. Both "Donaldus de Bute" and "Johannes de Corintoun" were named as chaplains of Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith in a charter of 6 March 1400. *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax*, ed. J. Dennistoun (Maitland Club, 1833), 95. The Sodor cleric "Nigel Cristini" [Niall mac Ghille-Chriost] is another possible exception, but the identity of his benefice at "St Molrwe" could refer to Kilmelfort or Killarow.

⁵⁶ *LMMS*, 1–4. Arran and Bute lay within the Stewart regality.

⁵⁷ Archibald Whitehead, John Montgomery, Robert Abernethy and Thomas Dicksoun (parsonage of Rothesay); Thomas Carmichael (as a prebend), Henry Murreff, Harbert Maxwell, Adam Colquhoun (parsonage of Kingarth); Duncan of Arran, Robert Cunningham, (parsonage of Kilbride). *CSSR*, iv, no. 344; v, nos. 377, 738; *CPL*, xi, 498; NAS GD3/1/10/5/3; Fraser, *Montgomeries*, ii, 48–50. *Abstract of Protocol Book of Stirling, AD 1469–1484*, 5; *RMS*, ii, no. 2485; *James Young Protocol Bk.*, no. 1205.

⁵⁸ Succession of rectors at Kilmory: Richard Cornel (1405–1407), Ingram de Ketinis (1407), John Celestini [Eoin mac Ghill-easbuig] (1420), Goffredus Lammani [Gofraidh mac Laghmainn] (× 1433), Dugald McMaclmicheil McBernaurs [Dubhghall MacMaoilMicheil McBernaurs] (1433), Muireadhach mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill (1433–1451), Donald Donald [Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnail] (× 1469), Alexander Finlay Spens (1472), John Goldsmith or Aurifaber (1477), John Burell (1482, as a prebend). *CPP*, 626, 635, 638; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 136, 136–137, 162; *CSSR*, i, 151; iv, no. 635; v, no. 427; vi, nos. 70, 479, 483; *CPL*, viii, 473; x, 547; xii, 690; *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 93. For the dispute over Arran between Clann Dòmhnail and the Stewarts see Boardman, *Campbells*, 153–154, 181–182; Boardman, "Leper John", 236.

gives us a precious insight. The supplication, by one Gille-Brìghde mac Ghille-Brìghde [“Bricius Bricii”], asked for “a benefice . . . in the diocese of Sodor and the deanery of Kintyre, diocese of Argyll”, and clearly implied that some contemporary clerics recognised the secular boundary separating the lordship of Clann Dòmhnail from the rest of Argyll as being one of particular significance.⁵⁹

The primary importance of secular lordship in the collation of clergy in the diocese is also supported by the declining numbers of Sodor clergy found in Argyll in the sixteenth century. The remnants of its operation may be found in the various provisions of Archibald MacGillevrays [Gill-easbuig MacIllebhàrath] to Killeen and Killintag in 1543 and 1550 respectively,⁶⁰ but this was dwarfed by the greater, simultaneous influx of Argyllshire churchmen from the mainland, particularly those associated with Clann Chaimbeul, into Sodor benefices, which coincided with the Earl of Argyll’s aspirations to fill the vacuum left by the lordship of the Isles.⁶¹

Nor was this picture restricted to Sodor. The challenge by David de Petyn, vicar of Petty and Brachlie in Moray, to remove Maol-Colum MacEacharna [“Colin Macheachyerna”] from the rectory of Kilmallie in Lochaber between 1431 and 1435 merely reflected the changing political climate in this much-contested region of Argyll.⁶² When he initiated proceedings on 15 March 1431, Clann Mhic an Tòisich (the Mackintoshes) were in the ascendancy in Lochaber, having been rewarded with lands for defecting from Clann Dòmhnail to James I in 1429, so presumably this marked an attempt by Clann Mhic an Tòisich to further capitalise upon the weakened position of Clann Dòmhnail.⁶³ It was only the unexpected defeat of the royal army at Inverlochy during the summer of 1431, followed

⁵⁹ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 190. Morvern is notable by its absence here, even though it was part of the lordship. It is, however, an interesting perspective – that of Kintyre itself, which was historically perceived as an island.

⁶⁰ Appendix A, nos. 242, 454. For his Sodor benefices see *RSS*, ii, nos. 1881, 4566, 4880; iii, nos. 2164, 2370; iv, nos. 28, 1431.

⁶¹ *LMMS*, 116, 211–212.

⁶² *Maol-Colum* is favoured here as the same individual occurs as “Malcolmus Macherna” in a later supplication. Again though, *Colinus* could also derive from Gaelic *Cailean* or *Gille-Colum*. See Appendix A, no. 419; *LMMS*, 156, 157, 158.

⁶³ Appendix A, nos. 419–420; Brown, *James I*, 102, 137. No direct connection between David de Petyn and Clann Mhic an Tòisich has been established, but the correlation between the lands and benefices points to an association; as well as lands in Lochaber (Glen Spean and Glen Roy), the clan possessed the lands of Petty and Breachley in the sheriffdom of Nairn. See Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 13, 43, 95, 109, 146, 186, 189, 191.

by the death of the Earl of Mar in 1435, which dashed David's hopes.⁶⁴ The evidence from the secular Church in Argyll suggests that the provision of non-local clerics from any particular region depended exclusively upon a willing patron (lay or ecclesiastical) who possessed lands or interests in that region and who had sufficient local clout to make their presentations effective. This was perhaps a more relevant factor than the degree to which the native magnates were being drawn into the mainstream of Scottish secular affairs.

The reliance of non-local clerics upon favourable local patronage is also suggested by the insignificant number of clergy from the other northern and eastern areas of the *Gàidhealtachd*. Not only do very few occur, but those that do were often connected either with secular magnates whose lordship crossed the diocesan border, or who had ambitions to extend it beyond Argyll. Thus, the two MicGriogair vicars of Fortingall, owed their respective collations to the deanery (1514) and the chancellorship (1558) to their association with the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul, who had recently cemented their dominant position in Breadalbane and who had possessed the patronage of ecclesiastical livings in Lorn, including these offices, since 1470.⁶⁵ Similarly, "Donaldus Makstalkare", rector of Eilean Munde (also under Glenorchy influence)⁶⁶ between 1510 and 1531, probably belonged to the Mac-an-Stalcair kindred of Breadalbane found in Glenorchy service during the mid-sixteenth century.⁶⁷ Access to Glenorchy patronage opened opportunities to win benefices within the wider lordship of Clann Chaimbeul, and thus explains the provisions of Breadalbane clerics like Gill-easbuig ["Archibald"] MacCairbre to the vicarage of Kilfinan (1529–1542) in Cowal,⁶⁸ and perhaps also the presence of "John Margantagart Machnnolkalnn" and "Dermitt Makhecardyeh", who

⁶⁴ Michael Brown, "Alexander Stewart", 45, perceptively states that the 1431 campaign is better understood as the resumption of an ongoing regional conflict between the Stiùbhart kindred of Badenoch, led by Mar, and the lordship of the Isles.

⁶⁵ MacGregor, "Fortingall", 48, 50–52.

⁶⁶ Presentation was officially vested with the crown in this period, but his predecessor was Eoin Caimbeul, perhaps a son of Donnchadh of Glenorchy. Appendix A, no. 389.

⁶⁷ *BBT*, 133, 197; Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 372–373; *Surnames*, 565. However, a *McInstockir* or *Stalker* kindred also occur in North Kintyre between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. A. McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1948), 169.

⁶⁸ The MacCairbre kindred held lands in Glen Lochay from the Lord of Glenorchy during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *ER*, ix, 574; *BBT*, 197; M. MacGregor, "A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1989), 241–242; Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 84, 353, 360. The kindred were reputedly custodians of Finlarig Castle at the west end of Loch Tay, a sixteenth-century seat of the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul. *Surnames*, 462.

may have belonged to the Mac an t-Sagairt (anglicised as *MacTaggart*) and Mac na Ceàrdaich (anglicised as *MacNokaird*) kindreds found in the Loch Tay region, in the vicarage of Lismore in 1496 and 1531, respectively.⁶⁹ “Gilbertus Borach”, or “Duncani”, vicar of Glenorchy (1498–1523) and chancellor of Argyll (1480–1491), is only identified by a descriptive epithet and patronymic, but his burial in Inchaiden parish church (at the east end of Loch Tay) implies that he too was from Breadalbane.⁷⁰ That these clergy owed their provision to their links with Clann Chaimbeul is verified by the fact that their movement into Argyll tended to be focused in areas which lay under the umbrella of Glenorchy patronage.

Further support for the primacy of regional interests and secular patronage in the collation of non-local churchmen is illustrated by the almost total absence of Irish clergy in Argyll. Contact between late medieval Gaelic Ireland and Scotland chiefly took the form of periodical migration of West Highland mercenaries and of the *aos dána*, though Wilson McLeod has argued that connections between this latter group were more uncommon than previously supposed.⁷¹ The importance of Ireland in an ecclesiastical sense could be said to depend upon how one defines ‘Irish’. For example, the Ó Brolcháin kindred were of Irish origin and are thought to have arrived in Scotland in c. 1300 along with other learned men as part of the marriage dowry of Áine, daughter of the Ó Caitháin chief to Aonghas Óg MacDòmhnail.⁷² Their continued use of the distinctively Irish ‘Ó’ patronymic might indicate an awareness and desire to retain their Irish ancestry, but aside from Niall Ó Brolcháin, prebendary of Kilcolmkill of Kintyre in 1382, it is unrealistic to regard later fifteenth and sixteenth century members as Irish. That the arrival of this learned retinue was still celebrated (rightly or wrongly) in later Scottish tradition as *Tochradh Nighean a’Chathanaich* (“the tocher of the daughter of Ó Caitháin”) may imply that large-scale migration from Ireland was considered unusual by contemporaries.⁷³

⁶⁹ On 19 June 1497 the incumbent vicar, who was also dean, resigned the offices in the presence of the Earl of Argyll. AT, at date; Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 353, 368–369. *Surnames*, 565.

⁷⁰ *Fasti*, 43; Gregory, “Dean of Lismore’s Chronicle”, 326.

⁷¹ Thomson, “Learned Orders”, 75. See also Bannerman, “Lordship”, 216; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, chaps. 1 and 2, especially 106.

⁷² *HP*, i, 20; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 10–11. However, see above, p. 30 and n. 50. A Dòmhnall Ó Brolcháin was also prior of Iona in the late twelfth century. *Annals of Ulster*, ii, 239–241.

⁷³ McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 43; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 11, n. 50. I. Grant and H. Cheape, *Periods in Highland History* (London, 1987), 82. The same principles also apply to Uí Miadhaigh (Omay) clergy, for whom see below, pp. 154–55.

In actuality, very few first generation Irish-born clerics are recorded in the western seaboard. Aodh Ó Lorcáin ["Odo Olorchan"] a mendicant brother from the diocese of Clonfert, and who was rector of Eilean Munde (1465 × 1466–1468), is the only example of a beneficed Irish cleric in Argyll.⁷⁴ Nor is there much evidence in Sodor either; there is just one petition of 15 October 1394 where a clerk from the diocese of Raphoe (in north-west Ireland) supplicated for reservation of a benefice in the gift of the bishop of Sodor.⁷⁵ Despite the acquisition of the lordship of Antrim during the early 1390s by Eoin Mòr, Lord of Dunivaig in Islay, there is no further evidence that this pan-Gaelic lordship encouraged Irish secular clergy to move across the North Channel.⁷⁶ The unimpressive number of Irish clergy in Argyll and Sodor is comparable with the numbers found in Dunblane, Glasgow and Aberdeen, all chiefly non-Gaelic dioceses with few established connections to Ireland.⁷⁷ The only direct and regular movement of ecclesiastical personnel across the North Channel was to Saddell Abbey in Kintyre, but this merely underlines the fundamental importance of patronage, because that house was subject to Mellifont Abbey in Armagh diocese.⁷⁸ Whatever the degree of cultural homogeneity the medieval West Highlands shared with Gaelic Ireland, it did not extend to the practical matter of collating secular clergy.

The scarcity of Irish clerics may seem surprising considering that they occupied the same cultural sphere as western Gaelic Scotland, but in fact any exchange of personnel between the two regions which occurred in the medieval era was principally dictated by supply and demand. Irish poets only settled in Scotland when there was a gap in the market they could fill, while Hebridean mercenaries were required to fight in the English conquest of Ireland throughout the late medieval period.⁷⁹ Ecclesiastical positions in Argyll were, in general, quickly filled by Scottish clerics who had first claim of the support of their local patron, whether that be lay or episcopal, which effectively ruled out the chances of corporeal possession

⁷⁴ Appendix A, no. 387. A "sir Dirmigis Ó Carbre" was chaplain to Dòmhnall, captain of Clann Chamshroin (Clan Cameron), on 11 December 1537 and presumably of Irish descent. AT, at date. This was the same name as the Irish harpist who murdered Aonghas Óg, heir to the lordship of the Isles, in Inverness in 1490. *Annals of Ulster*, iii, 351.

⁷⁵ CPL Benedict XIII, 17.

⁷⁶ S. Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles in the Fifteenth Century: The Lordship of Clann Domhnaill of Antrim* (Dublin, 2004), 49–50.

⁷⁷ CPP, 575, 576; CSSR, vi, no. 1399.

⁷⁸ CPL Clement VII, 195; CSSR, v, no. 586; Brown, "Abbey of Saddell", 130–131.

⁷⁹ McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 40, 69, 89.

for other litigants. The ferocity of competition from Scottish clerics, illustrated in the papal records, shows that there was no shortage of candidates from which to choose. Ireland, on the contrary, may have suffered a shortage of clergy.⁸⁰ Put simply, Irish clerics failed to appear in Argyll because they were not needed.

The staffing of the Church in the diocese of Argyll was overwhelmingly Scottish in origin. Between 1342 and 1425 Argyll's benefices were effectively the exclusive possession of Gaelic clergy local to the diocese, or to that of Sodor. However, the return of James I marked a watershed in the affairs of the kingdom, which was immediately felt in the personnel appointed to benefices by his ally Bishop Lauder. His influence also filtered further down the chain and may have affected the clergy that the local magnates, such as Clann Chaimbeul, chose to collate to office. The acquisition of new territories beyond the diocese by the magnates also resulted in the drafting in of non-local clerics from other regions of the *Gàidhealtachd*, such as Ross and Breadalbane. The diocese of Argyll itself possessed livings sufficiently attractive to merit the interest of at least one representative from all of the dioceses in the kingdom (with the exception of Galloway and Aberdeen). Yet, despite the increased competition offered by Lowland clergy, the vast majority of staff serving Argyll in the later medieval period continued to be drawn from the native community.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

In order to scrutinise the social status and origins of the secular clergy, it is necessary to first sketch a framework of the stratification of society in late medieval Argyll. It must be stressed that this is still a grey area, with few detailed analyses of the social structure of medieval Gaelic society. A fundamental distinction was made between *uasal* 'high, noble' and *ìosal* 'low, non-noble'. Within the higher group there were two chief social cohorts: the ruling clan elite, or *fine*, and the lesser *daoin'-uaisle*, or 'gentlemen' class.⁸¹ The *fine* were equivalent with the Scottish noble and laird classes, and usually included the heads of kindreds who held lands or title directly from the Crown, such as the MacDòmhnail lordship of the Isles, Clann Chaimbeul and the lordship of Lochawe and the MacDubhghaill

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 112–13.

⁸¹ Bannerman, "Lordship", *passim*; Macinnes, *Clanship*, chap. 1, especially 1–5; Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 75–80; Newton, *Warriors of the Word*, 126.

(or from 1388, Stiùbhart) lordship of Lorn, as well as lesser lords, including Clann Laghmainn (the Lamonts) of Ardlamont or the Scrymgeour barons of Glassary.⁸² The *daoin'-uaisle* were a much broader group, roughly comparable with the lesser landowning and burgh classes, incorporating landholders who received their charters of lands from the magnates such as vassal chiefs (e.g. Clann Eacharna of Killellan), and chiefs of important branches of major kindreds (e.g. the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul or Clann Raghnaill (Clanranald) of Clann Dòmhnail), as well as members of professional kindreds or *aos dána*, and other members of ecclesiastical lineages that specialised as churchmen upon a hereditary basis.⁸³

However, high social status in a kin-based society was not simply determined by landed title, but was complicated by issues of clanship, family affinities whereby branch kindreds retained lands, favour and status not by written charter but via their blood ties of kinship with the senior ruling kindred.⁸⁴ A sixteenth-century account of the composition of the council of the Isles, the conciliar body which advised the Lord of the Isles, illustrates that some important branch and vassal kindreds were also considered among the ruling grades: the heads of the Dunivaig, Ardnamurchan, Clann Raghnaill and Lochaber (later Keppoch) branches of Clann Dòmhnail were placed at the head of the council as the "royall blude of Clan-donald lineally descendit".⁸⁵ The presence of the Keppoch branch, who occupied lands in Lochaber for several centuries without any written title, emphasises that kinship alone could ensure high social status.⁸⁶ Although vassals, the two branches of Clann Ghill-Eathain – MacGhill-Eathain Diubhart (Duart) and MacGhill-Eathain Loch Buide (Lochbuie) – were also ranked among the four "greatest of the Nobles callit lords" in the council and were clearly graded among the *fine*.⁸⁷ The situation within this framework was therefore not static and expanding vassal kindreds, such as Clann Ghill-Eathain, Clann Raghnaill and the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul, became autonomous members of the *fine* themselves by the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸⁸ This is reflected, as will be

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Bannerman, "Lordship", 220; Macinnes, *Clanship*, 15.

⁸⁴ Macinnes, *Clanship*, 1–2, 37–46.

⁸⁵ *Monro's Western Isles*, 57; *ALL*, p. xlvii.

⁸⁶ *ALL*, p. xxxi. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 42–46.

⁸⁷ *Monro's Western Isles*, 57; *ALL*, p. xlvii.

⁸⁸ Bannerman, "Lordship", 217–218. Macinnes, *Clanship*, appendix, pp. 247–248, lists 50 autonomous clans whose heads can be classed as clan elite during the early modern period.

shown, in the increasingly important benefices to which the clerical members of these kindreds were collated. However, the first necessary step is to identify and establish how many clergy were confirmed members of the nobility and what kindreds they belonged to.

PAPAL RECORDS

Papal sources list 31 petitioning clergy who claimed nobility of blood, while a further 13 are verified through various indigenous documentary sources.⁸⁹ However, out of this group of 44, eight were petitioners who failed to win possession, whilst the names of some others ("Nigel Ymari"; "Archibald Martini"; "Andrew Nigelli") do not lend themselves to easy identification.⁹⁰ Of the remaining 33 individuals, the vast majority bore surnames of the greater nobility, both Gaelic and Lowland, and in several cases it can be established that they belonged to the immediate family of the greater territorial nobility, particularly clergy from Clann Chaimbeul, Clann Dòmhnail and the Lowland Scrymgeour family. Clergy from Clann Chaimbeul dominate the group, accounting for some 20 individuals listed altogether, of whom eight can be confirmed as nobles and close members of the ruling Lochawe family (see table 4).⁹¹ The precise origins of a further two clerics are unknown, but they were clearly of noble status. Dòmhnall Caimbeul, prebendary of Kilmartin (1443–1448), was of noble blood, and

⁸⁹ For references to Clann Chaimbeul, MicDòmhnail and Scrymgeour clergy, see pp. 128–31. For references to other noble clergy, see below, pp. 131–33.

⁹⁰ Unsuccessful clergy: Appendix A, nos. 403, 418; MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", appendix A, no. 449; *CSSR*, iii, 260–261; v, no. 418; vi, no. 231. Unidentified clergy: Appendix A, nos. 119, 447; *CPL*, xiii, 321. Cardinal Walter Wardlaw and his nephew Alexander were also of high social origins, but neither obtained the archdeaconry. Watt, *Graduates*, 563, 569.

⁹¹ Appendix A, nos. 94, 142, 144, 148; AT, charters dated 29 January 1422, 1450, 12 May 1559; *SP*, ix, 18; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 125–126; *CSSR*, v, no. 1109; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2872, fol. 262r; *Fasti*, 264–265; Boardman, *Campbells*, 107; M. Dilworth, "Iona Abbey and the Reformation", *SGS* 12 (1971–76), 77–109, at 83, 84–85; E.J. Cowan, "The Angus Campbells and the Origin of the Campbell-Ogilvie Feud", *SS* 25 (1981), 25–38, at 30–31; *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, 1236–1742, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1859), 93. Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul, archdeacon of Argyll, son of Cailean *Iongantach* ('wonderful'), Lord of Lochawe, is probably identifiable with Cailean's third son "Neill Dean of Argyll" named in a genealogical history of Clann Chaimbeul written down c. 1670–1676. There is no contemporary evidence to corroborate the history's claim that he was the progenitor of an ecclesiastical lineage at Kilmartin church, but the origins of several fifteenth-century incumbents at Kilmartin are still unconfirmed. *HP*, ii, 94–95; Appendix A, nos. 145–147. For dates of this history see M. MacGregor, "The genealogical histories of Gaelic Scotland", in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850*, eds. A. Fox and D. Woolf (Manchester, 2002), 196–239, at 212.

was identified as a 15-year-old kinsman of James II on 14 December 1443.⁹² His youthfulness is significant, as dispensations permitting under-age children to hold benefices were typically issued to illegitimate sons of royal and noble persons.⁹³ His benefice of Kilmartin was commonly in the possession of immediate family members and it is conceivable that he was a son of Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe.⁹⁴ Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe, who served as rector of Lochawe (1430–1441) and archdeacon of Argyll (1441–1453), also shared kinship with men of high social status, including the aforementioned Patrick of Lorne, regal canon of Cambuskenneth and kinsman of Finlay of Albany.⁹⁵ Whether he was also an illegitimate son of Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe cannot be conclusively answered; he never stated he was illegitimate in any of his four petitions to Rome (which he was bound to do if he was), but everything else we know about him indicates an intimate relationship with the ruling Lochawe line.⁹⁶ As table 4 demonstrates, the close blood ties of ecclesiastics with the ruling lineage of Clann Chaimbeul were maintained throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but there was an increasingly diverse range of ecclesiastical livings available. Initially centred upon the church of Kilmartin and the archdeaconry of Argyll, it broadened as the ruling Lochawe lineage and cadet lineages of Glenorchy and Cawdor expanded into new territories, most notably in Lorn and Sodor, where kinsmen controlled the Ardchattan Priory, the bishopric of Sodor and, by extension, Iona Abbey.

In contrast with the multitude of clergy derived from the ruling Lochawe family of Clann Chaimbeul, there are just three identifiable representatives from the ruling Islay lineage of Clann Dòmhnail, of whom two have

⁹² CSSR, iv, no. 967.

⁹³ Eoin, son of Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy, was just seven when his father requested dispensation for him to hold cathedral and/or collegiate prebend. The minimum ages were 14 and seven respectively. Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 281–282; CSSR, v, no. 1109.

⁹⁴ Dòmhnall's birth in c. 1428 was after the death of Sir Donnchadh of Lochawe's first wife, Marjory Stewart in c. 1420. He could be a son of his marriage in 1423 to Margaret, daughter of John Stewart of Ardgowan, half-brother of James I and uncle of James II. Boardman, *Campbells*, 121. The marriage of Donnchadh's eldest son, Gill-easbuig, to Elizabeth Somerville produced only one child, named "Coline". *HP*, ii, 97.

⁹⁵ *HMC*, Fourth Report, 483–484, no. 205; *CPL*, vii, 69; Watt, *Graduates*, 4. Patrick could be a Stewart of Innermeath, the lineage which became lords of Lorn in 1388. In 1434 a figure of this name is recorded holding the royal lands of "Reploch". *ER*, iv, 592.

⁹⁶ Boardman, "Pillars of the Community", 136–137. Donnchadh Caimbeul married a daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany during the 1390s, but it is not inconceivable that he fathered a son with one of the female Stewarts of Innermeath. Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 182–183.

already been identified (see table 5).⁹⁷ Papal records corroborate the clan tradition that “Angus Donaldi [Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail] de Insulis”, rector of Kilmallie and Kilcolmkill in Morvern and bishop of Sodor from 1426, was a son of Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles, but also add that he, in turn, was the father of “Angus Angusii [Aonghas mac Aonghais] de Insulis”, prebendary of Kilberry and rector of Kilblane, the “son of bishop of royal stock” who became bishop of Sodor in 1472.⁹⁸ It is interesting to note that neither used the *de Yle* (‘of Islay’) designation despite belonging to the ruling line, which suggests that John Bannerman’s rule that *de Insulis* was used by branches of Clann Dòmhnail cannot be interpreted too strictly.⁹⁹ The origins of “Angus Johannis [Aonghas mac Eoin] de Insulis”, rector of Kilcolmkill in Morvern (1454–1456) and an illegitimate son of a married man of “royal race”, have not been previously identified, but his claim to share kinship with the Stewart royalty implies that he too descended from the marriage of Eoin, Lord of the Isles to Margaret Stewart in circa 1350. His father “Johannes de Insulis” could be Eoin Mòr, Lord of Dunivaig and the Glens of Antrim (d. 1427), the brother and designated successor of Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles.¹⁰⁰ In addition to his benefices in the clan heartlands of Islay and the Sound of Mull, “Angus Johannis de Insulis” also held a canonry and prebend in the cathedral chapter of Ross, and was attempting to win the archdeaconry of Sodor in 1456.¹⁰¹ His birth and subsequent career indicate a Clann Dòmhnail cleric of great standing.

Most of the other confirmed noble-born clerics were of Lowland origin, of whom the Scrymgeours, constables of Dundee and, since 1374,

⁹⁷ *ALI*, p. lvi, appendix D, pp. 299, 300–301, table 5, nos. 1, 2, 2a.

⁹⁸ *Clanranald Bk.*, 210–211; *CSSR*, v, no. 1018; *Fasti*, 264, 273.

⁹⁹ *LMMS*, 154.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix A, no. 436. *Clanranald Bk.*, 158–159, 212–213; *ALI*, appendix D, p. 293, table 3, no. 2; *HP*, i, 32. Eoin Mòr possessed substantial lands in Kintyre and Islay, where “Angus Johannis de Insulis” later held the rectory of Kilchoman and features as “Johannes de Insulis dominus Dunwage et de Glyninis” in a safe conduct of June 1400. *Rot. Scot.*, ii, 155. He is probably the “John de Insulis” accused by Alasdair, Lord of the Isles, of illegally acting as patron of the church of Kilchousland in Kintyre in a petition of 29 February 1428. The timing of this petition may have been after the death of Eoin Mòr, who was murdered in 1427 or 1428 by an envoy of James I. *CSSR*, ii, 188–189, n. 2; Barrell, “Church in the West Highlands”, 44, n. 121; *ALI*, appendix D, p. 293, table 3, no. 2; Brown, *James I*, 99–100; *Scotichronicon*, viii, 260–261, 363, n. 45; *SP*, v, 40. Surprisingly, neither Kenneth Nicholls, “Notes on the genealogy of Clann Eoin Mhoir”, *SWHHR* (1991), 11–24, at 12 or Simon Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles*, suggest that Eoin Mòr may be identical to this “Johannes de Insulis”.

¹⁰¹ *CPL*, xi, 262; *Fasti*, 273. See also below p. 145, and appendix A, no. 422, for another recently discovered cleric of probable Clann Dòmhnail descent.

lords of Glassary, were the predominant cohort.¹⁰² As patrons of Glassary parish church they consistently presented immediate members of their own family; at least five of the nine Scrymgeours that occur at Glassary church were close family members, all of whom held the rectory/prebend.¹⁰³ Beyond these were an assortment of Lauders, Montgomeries, Hamiltons and Cunninghams who occupied the bishopric and cathedral offices, and were also drawn from high noble stock.¹⁰⁴ However, not all of the Lowland clergy in Argyll claimed nobility of blood, and a handful were clearly from the Lowland burgh class. William Elphinstone, archdeacon of Argyll (1478–1480 × 1481) is one established example, but also notable are William Baillie, vicar of Inverchaolain (1468 × 1472–1484) who was a brother of the laird of Carfin; Andrew Cunningham, rector of Lochawe (1492–1520), was the brother of a burgher of Ayr, while the brothers Adam and Michael Colquhoun, successive rectors of Kilchousland (1499–1507; 1507), belonged to a Glaswegian family of “well-to-do burghers”.¹⁰⁵

Aside from Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul, there are only four readily identifiable Argyll clerics of indigenous origin who claimed nobility: Beathán MacGill-Anndrais, dean and later bishop of Argyll (1388–1411 × 1420); “David Macuinchar”, archdeacon of Argyll and vicar of Lismore (1389–1391); Muireadhach mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill (“of great noble race”), prebendary of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre (1433–1451) and Raibeart Stiùbhart, vicar of Kilmonivaig (1441–1454).¹⁰⁶ The origins of MacGill-Anndrais and Raibeart Stiùbhart are uncertain, though Stiùbhart was clearly of high noble birth: he variously claimed to be an illegitimate, noble son of unmarried parents, a kinsman of James II and a close relation of Alasdair, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, both the surname and the important benefices which MacGill-Anndrais possessed

¹⁰² *HP*, ii, 115–116, 148–151.

¹⁰³ Appendix A, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 13; *SP*, iii, 306; *AC*, 167–169. *CSSR*, i, 258–259; *RMS*, ii, no. 3817.

¹⁰⁴ Dowden, *Bishops*, 386, 389, 390, 391; *CPL*, xvii, no. 55; Fraser, *Montgomeries*, i, 34; ii, 128; *RSS*, ii, nos. 2402, 2429; Appendix A, nos. 38, 123.

¹⁰⁵ J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451–1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 173; D. McRoberts, “The Manse of Stobo in 1542”, *IR* 22.1 (1971), 19–31, at 19; MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 16; *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, N.P.*, 1512–1532, eds. J. Anderson and F.J. Grant (SRS, 1908), no. 1036.

¹⁰⁶ *CPP*, 573; *CPL*, viii, 473; x, 547; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 798, 817.

¹⁰⁷ *CSSR*, iv, nos. 798, 817. His descent indicates a relationship between a female NicDòmhnail and a male Stewart/Stiùbhart, most plausibly a Stiùbhart of Lorn, probably in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. At least two such unions are recorded during the mid-fifteenth century. *Ibid.*, nos. 21, 1192.

point to a high noble origin.¹⁰⁸ The two other clerics probably fit the criteria of the lesser landholding *daoin'-uaisle* class. "Macuincharde" might be read as "Macmurchard", and presumably refers to the MacMurachie kindred, landowners in Kilberry parish during the early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Muireadhach mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill probably derived from the MacNéill kindred of Carskiey in the Mull of Kintyre; his benefice of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre was the traditional burial ground of this lineage.¹¹⁰ He was also rector of Kilblane, which was later held by a "Mauricius Makneile", who probably belonged to the same kindred.¹¹¹ This latter figure was one of the landholders equated by Bannerman with the *daoin'-uaisle* class in the 1506 crown rental of South Kintyre.¹¹²

The identities of two more individuals who claimed nobility are implied by their name and locality. "John Angusii" [Eoin mac Aonghais] rector of Ardnamurchan (1428–1433), who repeatedly emphasised his noble status and university qualifications as evidence of his suitability to hold this church in union *ad vitam* with that of Knoydart, was probably a MacIain of Ardnamurchan.¹¹³ The noble "Nigel Colini", Bachelor of Decrees, rector of Kilcolmkill in Morvern (1408–1411) and litigant for the rectory of Kilmonivaig (1409–1411), may be identifiable with "Master Nigel Makduuhie" (Gaelic *MacDuibh-shithe*, anglicised as *MacDuffie*), who was posthumously named as rector of Kilmonivaig in January 1420.¹¹⁴ *Niall* and *Gille-Coluim*, with which *Nigellus* and *Colinus* could be equated, were pop-

¹⁰⁸ Derick Thomson, ("Learned Orders", 61) believes that his patronymic, "Beanus Johannis Andree", pointed to an origin among the MacBeatha (Beaton) medical kindred, but the surname shows that he derived from Clann Gill-Anndrais or Gillanders, a territorial kindred from Ross. D. Sellar, "Highland Family Origins – Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking", in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness, 1981), 103–116, at 105, 110–111; MacGregor, "MS 1467", 141.

¹⁰⁹ *ALI*, appendix C, pp. 268–269; *LMMS*, 153.

¹¹⁰ McKerral, *Kintyre*, 168; *LMMS*, 160.

¹¹¹ Appendix A, no. 189.

¹¹² *ER*, xii, 708; Bannerman, "Lordship", 219–220.

¹¹³ *CSSR*, ii, 180–181, 197; iv, nos. 47, 61; *CPL*, viii, 10. Eoin's petition was probably a manoeuvre to retain family control of the benefice. Indeed, by making favourable reference to the lay patronage of the church, Eoin mac Aonghais implied that he had the support of the local patron, almost certainly the Lord of Ardnamurchan. For the origin of "Dugaldus Alexandri MacEan", see below, p. 133.

¹¹⁴ Appendix A, nos. 399–400. For the variant spellings see *LMMS*, 119; *Surnames*, 493. Watt, *Graduates*, 107, rejected this hypothesis because a later petition (*CSSR*, i, 157) stated that "Nigel Macdwffye" had been deprived by the bishop of Argyll with the cooperation of the Lord of the Isles. However, as this supplication emanated from Alasdair Stiùbhart, Earl of Mar (the chief rival of Clann Dòmhnail in Lochaber) it should be treated with scepticism.

ular names among the senior line of Clann Duibh-shithe Cholbhasa (the MacDuffies of Colonsay).¹¹⁵ If this cleric was from the ruling family then this would explain why he was favoured with two of the more prestigious benefices in Clann Dòmhnail patronage.¹¹⁶

There are indications that proving noble birth in local Gaelic society may have dissuaded clergy of high status from claiming nobility. According to Mark Dilworth, illegitimate supplicants would, if possible, always try to offset their illegitimacy by citing their kinship with nobility, even if it was diluted to the third or fourth degree (i.e. second and third cousins).¹¹⁷ However, there are a number of instances of illegitimate clerics whose kindred surnames and benefices are strongly indicative of high status, but who did not claim nobility of blood in their supplications. "Dugaldus Alexandri MacEan" [Dubhghall mac Alasdair MacIain], who was doubtless an illegitimate son of Alasdair MacIain of Ardnamurchan, did not do so when he transferred from the rectory of Ardnamurchan to the priorship of Oronsay in 1426.¹¹⁸ Nor did Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna, commissioner of the Campbeltown Cross and rector of Kilkivan ("Kylkecan") in Kintyre and Kilchoman in Islay during the late fourteenth century.¹¹⁹ "Rogellus" [*lege* 'Nigellus'] Ó Broilchán and Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil had particularly good cause to do so, not only because they were illegitimate, but because both sought permission (repeatedly in the latter case) to hold multiple benefices in plurality, for which the Chancery would offer a fuller dispensation if the supplicant could prove he was a "great noble" (*magnus nobilis*) or a graduate.¹²⁰ The failure of

¹¹⁵ In a genealogy written c. 1400, two of the three sons of Gill-easbuig, chief of Clann Duibh-shithe of Colonsay were named Niall and Gille-Coluim: "*Domhnall agus Niall agus Gilla-coluim tri mic Gilla-espaig ruaidh*", MacGregor, "MS 1467", 138; *LMMS*, 120.

¹¹⁶ One tradition from c. 1700 claims a "McFee" (Gaelic *Mac a'Phi*, which had replaced the longer form *MacDuibh-shithe* by the early sixteenth century) was usually accorded the privilege of fostering MicDòmhnail children, while another claims that MacDuibh-shithe of Colonsay "kept the records of the Isles". A. MacDonald, "A fragment of an Irish MS. History of the MacDonalds of Antrim", *TGSI* 37 (1934–36), 262–284, at 277; *HP*, i, 25. *LMMS*, 120, n.7, and 121. My thanks go to Martin MacGregor for alerting me to this name change.

¹¹⁷ Dilworth, "Social Origins", 200.

¹¹⁸ Appendix A, no. 462; *LMMS*, 113, 121.

¹¹⁹ *CPL Clement VII*, 189; *LMMS*, 159–160. The Campbeltown Cross was presumably the origin of the claim in the MS history of Craignish that several from the MacEacharna lineage of Killellan "were churchmen both at Killkeran and in Ilay". *SHS Misc.*, iv, 205.

¹²⁰ *Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae*, ed. E. von Otenthal, (1888: Elibron, 2006), 194, no. 33; *CSSR*, i, p. xviii, n. 1; ii, 7, 133–134, 177, 189–190; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 126, 212, 213–214. For his forename see Appendix A, no. 435. *Nigellus*, the common equivalent of *Neil* [Gaelic *Niall*] was the forename of other Uí Broilchán clerics in 1382 and 1467. Appendix A, nos. 173, 186, 235.

Ó Brolcháin to mention any kinship to nobility is perhaps compensated for by his stated university qualifications, but MacGille-Mhìcheil was instead forced to admit that he was “neither noble nor graduate”.¹²¹ On its own this may not seem significant, but it does betray similarities to a petition of “Donaldus Dominici Matanerelegwi” [Gaelic Dòmhnall mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach Mac an Fhir-lèighinn, anglicised as *MacNerlin*], vicar of Kilchoman in Islay, who in 1427 asked to have his nobility suppressed because he could not prove it judicially and feared that its inclusion would undermine the document’s validity.¹²²

As canon law did not attempt to define nobility itself, local ecclesiastical courts would have simply adhered to the criteria established by secular law in their own specific region.¹²³ Yet these kinds of statements, which occurred in other Scottish petitions, indicate that proving nobility of blood was not straightforward and could be a potentially controversial issue. They may explain why none of the petitioning clerics drawn from recognised ecclesiastical or learned kindreds claimed nobility, and they certainly convey the limitations of claims of nobility as the chief determinant of social status among the broad range of secular clergy.¹²⁴ The supplications were texts primarily concerned with the legalities of who was entitled to what and why, not with the social background of its litigants. There are, however, further barometers of social status that can be found in the surviving documentary and archaeological evidence of land, wealth and property.¹²⁵

LAND AND PROPERTY

About 14 clergy are recorded holding some kind of secular property in a private capacity. In some cases this reflected upon the noble status of ecclesiastics who inherited property by virtue of their close kinship with secular nobles and lairds. Bishop George Lauder, for instance, was Lord of Balcomy in Fife between 1442 and 1454, while Bishop William Cunningham received a royal gift of the non-entries of all his family’s

¹²¹ CSSR, ii, 138, 189.

¹²² Ibid., 179; *CPL*, viii, 23–224. For his surname see *LMMS*, 123–124.

¹²³ My thanks go to Gero Dolezalek and Frederik Pedersen for discussing this issue with me.

¹²⁴ Dilworth, “Social Origins”, 199.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 202–203.

lands in the barony of Kilmaurs in 1550.¹²⁶ Most, however, owned more modest properties. James Wick, prebendary of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, held the lands of “Auldcastellhill” in Inverness from the Crown between 1464 and 1478, while on 8 August 1509 Andrew Cunningham, rector of Lochawe, received ward of lands of Cassiltoun in Ayrshire, which were formerly held by a deceased David Cunningham, probably the late archdeacon of Argyll (1489–1509).¹²⁷ Although the historical bias of surviving sources is weighted towards sixteenth-century Lowland clergy, there are some property-holding Gaelic clergy worth noting. Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna, rector of Ardnamurchan and of Eilean Fhionain, received a royal lease of the lands of nearby Sunart in Morvern in 1506, and may be identical to “rectori Makachern”, who received the lands of Stokadill in North Kintyre in the same year.¹²⁸ Cailean MacEacharna, maer of South Kintyre and chief of Clann Eacharna of Killellan, stood surety for this latter payment which indicates close kinship between the two men.¹²⁹ Some clergy possessed tenements in Lowland burghs. Dubhghall Caimbeul, rector of Lochawe (1430–1441 × 1453), and Eoin Caimbeul, rector of Kilmallie (1535–1549), each possessed a tenement in Stirling and Irvine respectively, but the more obscure figures of Sir John MacGeachan, rector of Kilblane (1538–1542), and Donald Brown, rector of Lochawe (1534–1544), both possessed tenements in Irvine also.¹³⁰ Whether this indicates that they had some role in trade from Argyll is unclear, but the prominence of Irvine and the apparent affiliation of three of these clergy with Clann Chaimbeul may indicate links to the Campbells of Loudoun.

Some churchmen from kindreds recognised as professional ecclesiastical lineages are also recorded receiving property, including Seumas MacGriogair, dean of Argyll (1514–1551), and Lachlann MacThàmais

¹²⁶ *ER*, ix, 657, 663; *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Bannatyne Club, 1841), xli, no. 76; NLS Adv. MS 15.1.18/103; *RSS*, iv, no. 685.

¹²⁷ David Cunningham, archdeacon of Argyll, died in the same year and perhaps belonged to the Cunninghams of Craigend. *RMS*, ii, nos. 805, 1390; *RSS*, i, no. 1921; *Glas. Rent.*, i, 438, note. Both he and Andrew Cunningham, rector of Lochawe, were appointed as procurators for a papal letter concerning the vicarage of Ayr in 1491. *James Young Protocol Bk.*, no. 406. Andrew Cunningham also inherited property in Ayr from his father, Thomas. *Gavin Ros Protocol Bk.*, no. 1036.

¹²⁸ *ER*, xii, 706, 709.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*; *LMMS*, 160. A ‘maer’ or ‘mair’ was an executive officer of law of the Crown or of a lord of regality.

¹³⁰ MacGeachan and Dubhghall Caimbeul also possessed lands in these burghs and were seemingly figures of some importance. *HMC*, Fourth Report, 483–484, nos. 205–7; *Muniments of the Royal Burgh of Irvine*, 2 vols. (Ayrshire and Galloway Archaeological Association, 1890–91), i, 181, 183, 186, 195, 199, 201.

(anglicised as *MacCauis*), vicar of Inishail (1533–1545), while an unnamed rector of Kilkivan and a “rector McMartyne” both stood surety for the payment of rent by individual landholders in the lordship of Kintyre in 1505.¹³¹ Others were fathers of men of property class: Robert Barry, archdeacon of Argyll (1509–1529) and vicar of Kilfinan (× 1529), was the father of a Dumbarton burgess, while “Archibald MakVicar”, rector of Craignish (1522) and prior of Kilmun (1523–1548), was the “McVicker prior of Kilmun” identified as the father of “Archibaldus MakVicar de Auchinbrek” in 1579.¹³²

Land was key to the growth of the MacThàmais ecclesiastical lineage, and their monopolisation of the vicarage of Inishail during the mid-sixteenth century was predicated upon a single land grant on 4 April 1529.¹³³ By this, Gill-easbuig, Earl of Argyll granted the lands of Barindryane in the lordship of Lochawe “in charitable alms forever” to Donnchadh MacThàmais and his descendants, whom failing, to his brother and their heirs, provided that they “decently and at their own expense” maintain the chapel of Inishail and ensure the celebration of a weekly mass there for the souls of himself, his parents and the king.¹³⁴

Two other surviving mid-sixteenth century charters also tied kindreds to specific lands with specific religious duties. In 1546 the Earl of Argyll mortified lands in the barony of Ardscothnish to “Gilbertus Makolchallum”, chaplain and the “divine celebrant” (of mass) in Kilmartin church, following whose death the lands were to pass to the next chaplain and divine celebrant elected.¹³⁵ Gille-Brìghde “Makolchallum” was the son of an earlier priest “dominus Johannes McColmsoun”, who may be identical with “Iain Makolchallum”, chaplain of Kilmartin in 1534, although it is possible that this latter figure was a brother.¹³⁶ In any case, the clerical descent and shared benefice together point to the emergence of another ecclesiastical lineage derived from the local MacOlchallum (Gaelic *MacMhaoil-Chaluim*) kindred centred on the chaplaincy of Kilmartin in the early sixteenth century.¹³⁷ Again, opportunities were determined chiefly by the

¹³¹ NAS GD160/528/11; *RMS*, iii, no. 3132; *ER*, xii, 700.

¹³² *RMS*, iv, nos. 644, 2903.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, no. 1025.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*; *LMMS*, 138.

¹³⁵ *RSS*, iii, no. 1965.

¹³⁶ *RMS*, iv, no. 24. The role of Gille-Brìghde as “curator” (i.e. guardian) to Maol-Coluim MacCòrcadail [MacCorquodale] of “Phantalens” [Phantlands] during the latter’s minority is another indicator of his high social standing. AT, charters dated 25 November 1542 and 12 September 1543. For the Baron MacCòrcadail, see below, p. 160 and n. 253.

¹³⁷ *Surnames*, 553–554. It is unclear whether this kindred was identical to the MacCallum kindred, later known as the Malcolms of Poltalloch, or indeed, the “Clanchallum”, who

umbrella of lordship and patronage of Clann Chaimbeul rather than by locality, as Gille-Brìghde also served as vicar and rector of Lochgoilhead and Craignish during his career.

Even laymen occupying lesser religious offices upon a hereditary basis received lands which specifically tied their possession of lands with particular duties. In 1544, the earl's son, Gill-easbuig, Fiar of Argyll and Lorn, issued a charter of mortification "in honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin and St Moluag, our patron" to his "*signifer*" (standard or sign-bearer?), "John McMolmore Vic Kevir", confirming to him and his heirs-male certain lands in Lismore, together with custodianship of the 'Great Staff' of St Mo Luóc (the *Bachull Mòr*), to be held in "pure and free alms" as freely as his father, grandfather and great-grandfather and other predecessors had held it from Gill-easbuig's predecessors as lords of Lorn, "for the safety of the souls of us, our predecessors and successors".¹³⁸ This hereditary caste, which must date at least to the fifteenth century, is identified in an eighteenth-century history as a lineage from the MacDhuinnshlèibhe medical kindred.¹³⁹ The strongest corroborative evidence for this claim is the appearance of an "Iain MakKewin MakDunlew" who featured among the witnesses to a sasine at Lismore, where on 31 January 1511 the precen-tor of Argyll received the lands of "Killendryst" (Killandrist) from Gilbert Rewach "*signifer*", who was acting as deputy for the Earl of Argyll.¹⁴⁰ The election of "Duncan, son of Odo MacDunlewe" [Donnchadh mac Aoidh MacDhuinnshlèibhe] to the lay office of parish clerk of Muckairn in 1541 indicates that their specialisation may have extended to other offices beyond Lismore, though his position was probably tied to the nearby farmlands of Balindore (*Bail-an-Deoir* – 'townland of the Dewar') which seem to have pertained to the custodian of the *Bachull Mòr*.¹⁴¹ The terms

were "strong in Ardskeodnish within the paroch of Killmartin" during the fourteenth century. *HP*, ii, 92; Boardman, *Campbells*, 74–75; *Surnames*, 463, 498.

¹³⁸ AT, at date. The office may have entailed leading the relic into battle. For the charter see Carmichael, "Barons of Bachuill", 373–374.

¹³⁹ *OPS*, 2:1, 163; *HP*, iv, 96.

¹⁴⁰ N.D. Campbell, "Response – The Barons of Bachuill", *Celtic Review* 6 (1910), 190–192, at 192.

¹⁴¹ A. Carmichael, "Traditions of the Land of Lorne and the Highland Ancestry of Robert Burns", *Celtic Review* 8 (1912–13), 314–333, at 318–320. His provision may have been predicated upon an earlier bond of manrent between leading men of Clann Dhuinnshlèibhe and Sir Eoin Caimbeul of Cawdor at the isle of "Kilmolmolrue" on 16 August 1518. The bond was made upon "the mess buik and the relic callit the arwachyll". A.B. Scott rendered this latter phrase as Gaelic *air a bhacul*, that is "upon the bachull". *Cawdor Bk.*, 129. Campbell, "Barons of Bachuill", 191; A.B. Scott, "St Maolrubha", *SHR* 6 (1908–09), 260–280, at 264, n. 5. The parish clerk's duties were principally centred upon the mass and church and were

of such grants bear comparison with other contemporary grants of land made by Clann Chaimbeul chiefs to the heads of lineages for the performance of specific secular services, and reaffirm that some professional churchmen in Argyll, including those in lay offices, were bracketed in the same class as the poet or physician.¹⁴²

A similar relationship may have existed further south between the MacVicar lineage and the church of Kilmalieu. The surname *MacVicar* (Gaelic Mac a'Bhiocair, 'son of the vicar'), of course, presupposes an ecclesiastical lineage and is corroborated by an eighteenth-century genealogical history, which claimed that the "Mac Viccars" were "the old Parsons of Kilmalew and Barons of Brenchille". There is, however, stronger contemporary evidence.¹⁴³ Gill-easbuig Mac a'Bhiocair, prior of Kilmun, appears acting as bailie on the same day and place (Ardkinglass, 30 June 1544) as "Nivin McVicar of Branquhile [Brenchoillie]" and again as bailie of a sasine on 8 August for two grants from the Earl of Argyll.¹⁴⁴ This "Nivin" is doubtless identifiable with "Nevin MakVikar" [Naomhán Mac a'Bhiocair], rector of Kilmalieu (1560–1573) who also possessed the lands of Sallochry and Kilmun in Glenaray, which were later inherited by his son and grandson.¹⁴⁵ "Niall McYlotmish [MacGille-Thòmais], vicar of "Stronmagachan" in June 1538, was perhaps another member of the lineage.¹⁴⁶ The benefice was doubtless the vicarage of Kilmalieu, but the reference to Stronmagachan is interesting because it presumably referred to the role of this Mac a'Bhiocair family as proprietors of Stronmagachan in Glenaray, and might

distinct from the office of *deòradh*, though the characteristic task of touring parishioners' homes and sprinkling them with holy water once a week as an exorcism may indicate a connection: water into which the *coigreach* of St Faelán had been dipped was reckoned to have curative properties. D. McKay, "The Duties of the Parish Clerk", *IR* 19:1 (1968), 32–39; Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 71.

¹⁴² On 21 February 1530 the earl confirmed to Lachlann, head of the Craiginterve medical lineage, the lands his father had held and which Lachlann and his descendants would continue to hold hereditarily as long as they practised "the medical art". AT, at date. Similarly, in 1558 the lands of "Barmullocht" in Lorn were granted "forever" by the Lord of Glenorchy to the head of the MacEòghainn (anglicised as *MacEwan*) poetic lineage, while in 1408 Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles granted lands to "Brian Vicar MacKay" and his heirs "for ever and ever" for unspecified services. *BBT*, 408–409; *ALI*, no. 16.

¹⁴³ *SHS Misc.*, iv, 236.

¹⁴⁴ AT, at date.

¹⁴⁵ *AS*, ii, no. 382.

¹⁴⁶ AT, dated 8 June. According to Niall, tenth Duke of Argyll, "McYlotmish" was an error for "McGilneife", which seems to be a patronymic; this is suggested by the presence of "Gillineff MakVycar of Brenchalye" in a charter of 18 June 1546. "Archibald McVycar", provost of Kilmun, was a witness. AT, at date.

well imply that landholding was connected to ecclesiastical service among this lineage.¹⁴⁷

UNIVERSITY

Establishing the social status of university-educated clergy initially appears to be straightforward. Universities throughout Europe recognised the chief social divisions and commonly classified their students into three groups: noble (*nobiles*), rich (*divites* or *solventes*) and poor (*pauperes*). Unfortunately, the application of these forms in the Scottish university records was haphazard, and in our case it is limited to a small portion of 14 students (nine *pauperes* and five *divites* or *solventes*) at St Andrews from the later fifteenth century onwards.¹⁴⁸ This is too narrow in scope to permit macro-analysis and there is a danger of interpreting these categories too literally, particularly when rich noble sons, like James Kennedy, future bishop of St Andrews, would plead poverty so as to avoid paying full fees.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, some observations may be posited. It is perhaps instructive that, contrary to the general European trend, *pauperes* constituted the most numerous group from Argyll.¹⁵⁰ It is also notable that, prior to their association with Clann Chaimbeul, figures such as John Carswell [Eoin Carsuel] and Gill-easbuig MacCairbre are both classified as *pauperes*.¹⁵¹ This demonstrates that even young, able men from relatively obscure, minor landowning families could aspire to climb the ecclesiastical ladder.¹⁵² Thomas Fleming, however, was already described as *solves* in 1472, which suggests that either he was of a wealthy background himself or perhaps

¹⁴⁷ NSA, vii, 19. There does not appear to be evidence of a dependant chapel at Stronmagachan, though the site was certainly important: Stronmagachan was said to have been "Argyll's first house". OPS, 2:1, 85; A. Campbell of Airds, *A History of Clan Campbell, volume one: from origins to Flodden* (Edinburgh, 2000), 124.

¹⁴⁸ *Early Records of the University of St Andrews* (SHS, 1926), p. xxvii. The classifications were used in Glasgow University too, but never involved Argyll clergy.

¹⁴⁹ A.I. Dunlop, "Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century", *Historical Association Pamphlet*, no. 124, (London, 1942), 18.

¹⁵⁰ *Divites* were the most numerous in Europe. H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *Universities in the Middle Ages; A History of the University in Europe*, gen. ed. W. Rüegg, volume one (Cambridge, 1992), 206, 208–209.

¹⁵¹ Appendix B, nos. 55, 65.

¹⁵² The Carswell family, originally from Corswell in Kirkcolm parish, Wigtownshire, probably settled in Kilmartin during the early sixteenth century. Meek and Kirk, "John Carswell", 8–9; J. Bannerman, "Two early post-Reformation inscriptions in Argyll", *PSAS* 105 (1972–74), 307–312, at 308–309. For the lands of the MacCairbre kindred during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see MacGregor, "MacGregors", 241–242.

already in receipt of Clann Dòmhnail patronage.¹⁵³ University classifications may sometimes also reflect the changes which occurred in the landowning structure in Kintyre. For example, the upward social mobility of the Ó Miadhaigh (anglicised as *Omay*) kindred during the early sixteenth century is illustrated by “Cornelius Omeý”, prebendary of Kilberry (1550–1574), who was listed as *dives* at his determination of 1528–1529.¹⁵⁴ Presumably he was of greater status than “Cor[nelius] Makmillane” [Mac a’Mhaoilein], who appears as “pauper” in 1495.¹⁵⁵ This is possibly reflective of contrasting fortunes of two Kintyre kindreds; Clann Ghille-Mhaoil (the MacMillans) were landowners in Knapdale under the lords of the Isles until c. 1478, but subsequently appear holding lands in South Kintyre from the Crown in 1505.¹⁵⁶

MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE

Most documentary sources are of sixteenth-century date, but monumental sculpture is a contemporary benchmark of high social status and wealth which spans the entire later medieval period.¹⁵⁷ Bannerman identifies three chief groups engaged in the activity: the heads of kindreds and their families (roughly identifiable with the *fine*); the clergy (who were frequently drawn from the *fine*); and professional people and their families.¹⁵⁸ However, in Argyll only one of the eight ecclesiastics recorded in the surviving sculpture was unambiguously from the *fine*: the “venerable and eminent man Rodericus Alexandri” [Ruairidh mac Alasdair], rector of Eilean Fhionain (1515–1547), bishop-elect of Sodor and half-brother of Eoin Mùideartach [John of Moidart], chief of Clann Raghnaill.¹⁵⁹ Bannerman suggests that his burial at Ardchattan Priory was perhaps chosen for its particular sanctity, but it would also accord with burial patterns observed in late medieval England, which shows that burial sites could be strongly influenced by social status, not least because a fee was required

¹⁵³ *St A. Acta*, ii, 186.

¹⁵⁴ Appendix B, no. 62.

¹⁵⁵ *St A. Acta*, ii, 254.

¹⁵⁶ *ER*, xii, 698–700, 707–708; *LMMS*, 151–152.

¹⁵⁷ *LMMS*, 88–89; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 22–23.

¹⁵⁸ *LMMS*, 88–89.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 136–137.

to the incumbent if someone wished to be buried outside their parish of residence.¹⁶⁰

The remainder were individuals who derived from the lesser territorial nobility or ecclesiastical classes, although these were still clearly wealthy individuals. For example, the quality of workmanship involved in the production of the Campbeltown Cross of Iomhar MacEacharna and his son Gill-Anndrais, late fourteenth-century rectors of Kilkivan (× 1376; 1376–1393), suggests access to considerable resources, perhaps through close kinship with the chiefs of Clann Eacharna at nearby Killellan.¹⁶¹ Similarly, the Nereabolls Cross upon the Rhinns of Islay, bearing the inscription “Nigell[us] Odonis” with the image of an abbot or bishop and dating to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century (fig. 5), probably refers to the Sodor cleric “Nigellus Odonis” [Niall mac Aoidh], rector of Eilean Fhionain (× 1438).¹⁶² He was probably a MacAoidh (anglicised as *MacKay*) of the Rhinns in Kilchoman parish, another lesser landowning kindred whose chief was, according to tradition, a member of the Council of the Isles.¹⁶³ The graveslabs of Gille-Brìghde MacGille-Chòmghain, vicar of Kilkivan (c. 1500–1560), of Gille-Brìghde MacPhilib, vicar of Killean (c. 1500–1560) and of Donnchadh MacThàmais, vicar of Inishail (1545 × 1559) all demonstrate that parochial positions which entailed serving the cure were also occupied by individuals drawn from the lesser noble or professional classes.¹⁶⁴ Similarly, it is also notable that the MacPhilib graveslab was commissioned by the curate of Killean who was probably a kinsman. Other examples of curacies in the Highlands are unfortunately very scarce, but this also illustrates that, like the chaplaincy of Kilmartin, at least some of the priests who served the cure in Argyll during the sixteenth century were individuals possessing a degree of social status within their own locality.¹⁶⁵

A couple of other less readily identifiable clerics would appear to be close kinsmen of high status individuals who commissioned crosses. “Dominicus

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 128; R. Dinn, “Monuments answerable to mens worth: burial patterns, social status and gender in the late medieval Bury of St Edmunds”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:2 (1995), 237–255.

¹⁶¹ *LMMS*, 159–160.

¹⁶² Appendix A, no. 457. Neither Bannerman, *LMMS*, 125, nor RCAHMS, *Argyll*, v, no. 384, associate the cross with this particular cleric.

¹⁶³ *HP*, i, 24. “Odo Macayd”, litigant for the rectory of Kilchoman during the late fourteenth century, was most probably a close kinsman. *LMMS*, 125; *CPL Clement VII*, 79, 189.

¹⁶⁴ *LMMS*, 137–139, 154, 159; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 23.

¹⁶⁵ *LMMS*, 154.

Donaldi" [Maol-Dòmhnach mac Dhòmhnach], vicar of Kilcolmkill in Morvern (× 1463) and rector of Kilchoman in Islay (1462 × 1463), was the son of the aforementioned Dòmhnach mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach Mac an Fhir-lèighinn, vicar of Kilchoman (1427–1463) and petitioner for the prebend of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre (1436), the figure who could not prove his nobility in the papal court, but who may have commissioned an impressive cross in Kilchoman churchyard.¹⁶⁶ No direct connection can be established between "Duncanus Macneyles", vicar of Lochgoilhead (× 1441) and "Patricius MacNelus", commissioner of another fourteenth- or fifteenth-century cross in Kilfinan churchyard, but both derived from the MacNiallghuis kindred in Cowal.¹⁶⁷

On the whole, cases of clergy of high social status that can be directly established through the primary material are relatively rare. About a fifth of the secular clergy can be directly identified through the various barometers of social status, though some criteria are more useful than others. Claims of nobility in papal supplications from Argyll are quite uncommon and would point to a small ecclesiastical elite restricted to the *fine* of certain kindreds with a huge class of non-noble clergy. However, the definition of nobility in these documents was overlaid with legalistic concerns that render it as an inadequate guide to the complex reality of social status in Gaelic society. Its chief value is as a tool for establishing the descent of individual clerics from various kindreds. Other criteria indicate that the vast majority of Argyllshire clerics of social consequence were drawn from the *daoin'-uaisle* and Lowland burgess classes, and that these considerably outnumbered those from either the *fine* or Lowland aristocracy. Nonetheless, it was the small elite that tended to occupy the greatest offices in the Church, and in this regard kin connections with the secular nobility undoubtedly played a key role. There are no other comparable surveys of the composition of the diocesan clergy elsewhere in Scotland, but the social make-up of Argyll bears similarities to the pattern found among the Scottish regular clergy, and also those elsewhere, as for example among the late medieval canons of Exeter, where clergy from the

¹⁶⁶ See above, p. 134; *CPL*, xi, 480; *LMMS*, 123.

¹⁶⁷ Individuals bearing the anglicised kindred name *MacNeilage* appear in later medieval charters of Clann Chaimbeul. *LMMS*, 143. Bannerman found no connection with northern Cowal but a "Donald Mcneilage" occurs as a "fencible" man (i.e. one capable of bearing arms) of Lochgoilhead parish in 1685. *The Commons of Argyll. Name Lists of 1685 and 1692*, ed. D.C. MacTavish (Lochgoilhead, 1935), 15.

lesser aristocracy of knights, esquires and gentlemen greatly outnumbered those from the greater aristocratic class.¹⁶⁸

CLERGY OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

The social status of the remaining four-fifths of the secular clergy in Argyll cannot be independently established, but their forenames, surnames and patronymics often show a significant correlation with those of major landholding kindreds in the same (or an adjoining) parish. They also tend, like the confirmed ecclesiastical nobility, to occupy churches over which the head of the kindred exercised patronage and/or which his family used as their chief burial ground. Many were probably individuals drawn from either the local clan elite, or a cadet or satellite kindred attached to it. Thus, for example, clerics from the cadet Clann Dòmhnail lineages tended to be collated to benefices in western Morvern where the MacIain and Clann Raghnaill branches were the direct landholders.¹⁶⁹ However, in other regions where Clann Dòmhnail were not the direct landholders, they tended not to place kinsmen in office, which were instead filled by individuals belonging to those local kindreds. In Kintyre and Knapdale the landholding structure was a patchwork of different kindreds and this

¹⁶⁸ Lepine, "Origins and Careers", 95–97. Dilworth, "Social Origins", 203.

¹⁶⁹ For example, the contextual evidence of name, locality and internal kin politics would also suggest that "Duncan Roderici" [Donnchadh mac Ruairidh], rector of Arisaig (1387–1398), and "Dungall Johannis Dungalli" [Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubbghaill], supplicant for Arisaig in 1506, were both of Clann Raghnaill descent. Donnchadh claimed that "Goffred de WYST" [Gofraidh, Lord of Uist], younger brother of Raghnaill, eponym of the Clann Raghnaill, was the lay patron of Arisaig, which could suggest kinship with Gofraidh's kindred, the *Sìol Ghoraidh*, located in North Uist. AT, dated 28 July 1398; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 88–89; *LMMS*, 127; *ALI*, appendix D, p. 291, table 2, no. 28. None of Raghnaill or Gofraidh's recorded sons was named *Donnchadh*. *HP*, i, 25; *ALI*, appendix D, pp. 287–289, table 2, nos. 5, 12. For more on the political context, see J. A. Raven, "Medieval Landscapes and Lordship in South Uist", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 2 vols. (University of Glasgow, 2005), i, 66–71. Dubhghall was only ten years old when he supplicated for dispensation for the rectories of Arisaig and Knoydart. The conferring of ecclesiastical benefices at such an early age implies a privileged background. Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 281–282; see above p. 129. Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 32, n. 54, suggests that his father, "Eoin mac Dhubbghaill", is identifiable with "Johannes Dougalsen", the previous incumbent. Dubhghall was the illegitimate son of unmarried parents, which may indicate descent from the Clann Dubhghaill of Morar, a cadet lineage named after their eponym Dubhghall MacRaghnaill, who became Lord of Moidart in 1511. Appendix A, nos. 468–70; *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 5 vols. (Spalding Club, 1841–52), iv, 195–196; *ALI*, appendix D, p. 289, table 2, no. 8; *HP*, i, 64–65; *Clanranald Bk.*, 170–171. See also C.M. Fraser Mackintosh, "The MacDonalds of Morar, styled 'MacDhughail'", *TGSI* 15 (1888–89), 63–75.

appears to have impacted upon the continuity of clerical personnel. Here locality often proved decisive. We have already noted that several clergy probably from the MacEacharna and MacNéill kindreds are found serving their local churches of Kilkivan, Kilblane and Kilcolmkill in Kintyre during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, the two incumbents who consecutively occupied the rectory/prebend of Kilchousland between 1392 and 1421, were presumably derived from the MacAoidh lineage of Ugadale, whose lands lay in the north of the parish.¹⁷¹ At the opposite end of Argyll, the collations of Eoin “Mackelaich”, rector of Glenelg (1420–1436), and his likely successor, “Thomas Andree” in 1436, to the rectory of Duirnish in Skye, diocese of Sodor, were probably influenced by the MacLeòid kindred of Dunvegan and Glenelg, who were the immediate landholders and probable patrons of these parishes; a later supplication in March 1540 for provision to both Glenelg and Minginish (or Eynort) in Skye similarly fell within the MacLeòid sphere of control.¹⁷² Local landowners seem to have exercised a considerable degree of autonomy under Clann Dòmhnail and this probably continued under the Stewart Crown in the sixteenth century.

In the large parishes of Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig in Lochaber there was also a complexity of rival landholding kindreds present in the region, including Clann Chamshroin of Locheil and Loch Arkaig, Clann Mhic an Tòisich in Lochaber and the septs of Clann Dòmhnail in Keppoch and Glengarry.¹⁷³ The ecclesiastical succession seems unsettled during the fifteenth century and is at times difficult to decipher, but this may also be

¹⁷⁰ See above, pp. 131–32, 133, 141.

¹⁷¹ *ALI*, appendix A, p. 237; *LMMS*, 156–157. They are “Angus Odonis MacKay” and “Odo MacKay”. Appendix A, nos. 219–20. *Angus* [*Aonghas*] and *Odo* [*Aed* or *Aodh*] both feature in the pedigree of the MacAoidh lineage of Ugadale in MS 1467 found in Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 483–484. There are, however, problems with Skene’s edition. See MacGregor, “MS 1467”, 131–132.

¹⁷² Appendix A, nos. 486–87, 489; *CSSR*, iv, no. 1243; *ACSB*, 139; *ALI*, pp. xxix, 38–39, 94, 96, 227–228, 266–267; Thomas, “From Rome”, 37, 49, 220, 222, 305–306. The supplication of Thomas Andree, who was of the diocese of Orkney, for Glenelg on 4 January 1436 was presumably connected to the marriage of Eoin, son of Uilleam [William] MacLeòid of Glenelg to a “Katerina Andree Ade” of the diocese of Orkney (and kinswoman?), who requested dispensation six days later. *CSSR*, iv, nos. 233, 237, 254, 266. Similarly, the supplication for Glenelg and Minginish on 19 March 1540 occurred shortly before a contract of marriage between Uilleam MacLeòid of Dunvegan and Ùna [Agnes], daughter of Ùisdean Frisael [Hugh Fraser] of Lovat, on 13 April 1540 to resolve a dispute over the lands and property of Glenelg. *The Book of Dunvegan, being documents from the muniment room of the MacLeods of MacLeod at Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye*, ed. R.C. MacLeod (Third Spalding Club, 1938), 51, 66–72. For the role of marital kinship see Cathcart, “Inressyng of kyndnes”, 127–138.

¹⁷³ *OPS*, 2:1, 181–186.

attributed to the exercise of Clann Dòmhnail patronage. Ongoing local competition for land and secular offices in the gift of the lords of the Isles between the chief of Clann Mhic an Tòisich and the Keppoch sept seems to have been simultaneously paralleled by competition for local ecclesiastical livings. Two of the incumbents of Kilmonivaig, “Beanus” (× 1462) and his son “Kenneth Beani” (1462 × 1463–1466), were probably followers of Maol-Coluim Mac an Tòisich, Lord of Moy and bailie of Lochaber,¹⁷⁴ but the situation was exacerbated by the tendency of Clann Dòmhnail to use these benefices to reward ecclesiastics who were not local to Lochaber, but were either close kinsmen or were involved in their administration. “Alexandrus Ronaldi” [Alasdair mac Raghnaill], rector of Kilmallie at some point during the 1470s, may have belonged to either of the cadet Clann Dòmhnail kindreds of Keppoch or Glengarry, although his promotion to the abbacy of Saddell might suggest kinship with the MacAlasdair sept of Loup in Kintyre to be a more likely possibility.¹⁷⁵ His successor at Kilmallie – “Donald Johannis de Insul[is]” [Dòmhnall mac Eoin of the Isles] – is still unidentified, but his designation points to descent from the senior ruling line of Clann Dòmhnail.¹⁷⁶ Geopolitics would have been a major consideration in Lochaber, for these benefices could be used as a means of securing the loyalty of the strategically important Great Glen, which was a major artery of Clann Dòmhnail lordship, but coming under increasing pressure from the expanding Gordons of Huntly.¹⁷⁷

None of the lesser landowning kindreds within Clann Dòmhnail lordship established control over the benefices in as complete a manner as that demonstrated by Clann Chaimbeul at Kilmartin or the Scrymgeours

¹⁷⁴ Appendix A, nos. 386, 404, 406. “Beanus” is perhaps identical with “Bean”, rector of Eilean Munde and “Beanus Patricii”, priest, diocese of Moray, who was notary to instrument of 14 June 1456 at Finlaggan for Maol-Coluim Mac an Tòisich, Lord of Moy (Strathdearn in Moray) and Keppoch in the lordship of Lochaber and perpetual steward of the same. Another priest, “Gilbert Beani”, also from Moray diocese, was procurator for the clan chief. *ALI*, no. 62; *The Mackintosh Muniments 1442–1720*, ed. H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1903), nos. 6, 7. See also Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 161–165. The church of Kilmonivaig is identified by “Kenneth Beani” in his supplication of June 1466 as “St Nerani in Lochaber”, or “Neranus” (in nominative singular) (*CSSR*, v, no. 1128). It is probably an error for *Nevanus*, which represents *Mo-Naem-óc*, the dedicatee of Kilmonivaig church, a hypocorism that is likely to have been made from someone called Ném or Némán/Naemán. My thanks go to Gilbert Márkus for this information.

¹⁷⁵ Appendix A, no. 421. The MacAlasdair kindred were another branch of Clann Dòmhnail.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 422. For further clerics associated with Clann Dòmhnail, see *ibid.*, nos. 395, 399–400, 407, 419.

¹⁷⁷ Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 162–166.

at Glassary, doubtless because the right of patronage usually resided with the lords of the Isles.¹⁷⁸ This also had positive benefits, however, as the lordship offered a wide range of potential benefices accessible to those clergy with the connections or ability to exploit them. This doubtless explains why we find MicAoidh, MicEacharna and other clerics from Kintyre and the southern Hebrides serving much further north in Morvern in churches far beyond their own kindreds' sphere of influence.¹⁷⁹ Interestingly, however, one will struggle to find much evidence of clergy from Morvern moving in the opposite direction.

The close connection between secular landholding and the provision of clergy was also found in Cowal where, on the eve of the Reformation, members of Clann Laghmainn (the Lamonts) appear to have enjoyed some ascendancy in the prebend of Kilmodan, a benefice which was the preserve of clergy from Clann Chaimbeul in the early fifteenth century.¹⁸⁰ The precise origin of the brothers Raibeart and Bhaltair [Walter] MacLaghmainn, successive prebendaries of Kilmodan (1542–1552 and 1556–1558; 1558–1595) is unknown, but the ecclesiastical career of the former certainly points to a noble origin.¹⁸¹ However, the ultimately futile efforts of Clann Laghmainn to win control of Kilfinan and Inverchaolain from Paisley Abbey illustrate the potential difficulties faced by territorial nobility in Cowal where all of the churches were already annexed to religious institutions by 1441.¹⁸² Indeed, the premium these annexations placed upon available ecclesiastical livings in Cowal may help explain why some MicLaghmainn ecclesiastics occur holding the humble positions of “clerk” of Kilfinan during the early sixteenth century.¹⁸³

Two early fifteenth-century clerics may have derived from a cadet lineage of Clann Laghmainn. “Godfredus Duncani Lagmanin” is described in one petition of 1409 as possessing the “parish church” (namely the vicarage) of Kilfinan.¹⁸⁴ It is unclear whether “Lagmanin” referred to a patro-

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 68.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix A, nos. 400, 419, 421, 446, 450, 457, 459, 461, 464.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., nos. 57–58, 61, 63.

¹⁸¹ Between his two terms as prebendary of Kilmodan, Raibeart MacLaghmainn was chancellor of the Chapel Royal in Stirling (1552–1557) and was presented to the priory of Oronsay (1555). He also served as provost of Kilmun in 1557 shortly before his death. *Fasti*, 438, 472; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 167.

¹⁸² CSSR, v, no. 1025; *Parishes*, 100.

¹⁸³ Appendix A, nos. 50–51.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., no. 29; *Lamont Papers*, nos. 1–4.

nymic (Gaelic *Laghmainn*) or the surname *Laghmainn*,¹⁸⁵ but *Gofredus* [*Gofraidh*] and *Duncanus* [*Donnchadh*] were both characteristic names of the MacLaghmainn kindred.¹⁸⁶ He is doubtless the same person as “Gofredus McPerson”, vicar of Kilfinan in 1391 and the probable father of “Gofredus Gofredi Doncani”, vicar of Kilberry (1436–1454), who was in turn identified as “Gotheray McForsan” in August 1452.¹⁸⁷ The repeated use of “McPerson” and “McForsan”, which derives from *mac a’Phearsain*, or ‘son of the parson’, indicates the existence of an ecclesiastical cadet branch of Clann Laghmainn, spanning at least three generations, who developed the surname which described their profession: *MacPherson*.¹⁸⁸

In accordance with their status as the major kindred in Argyll and patrons of the cathedral during the fourteenth century, one would expect MicDubhghaill clerics to feature more prominently than they actually do. Donald Watt proposed that Aonghas “de Ergadia” and the Dominican Màrtainn “de Ergaill” were senior members of the kindred, both because they contested the bishopric in the early 1340s and because they were designated with the *de Ergadia* formulae, which was commonly used by the MicDubhghaill lords to denote their superiority over Argyll.¹⁸⁹ In doing so he suggested, not implausibly, that Aonghas’s other designation, *de Congallis* (of Cowal), referred to his role as rector of Dunoon and certainly there are occasions where a place-name designation refers to a person’s place of birth or work.¹⁹⁰ However, this being so, there is no reason to suppose the same principle should not also apply to the *de Ergadia* designation. The forename *Aonghas* was completely unknown amongst the leadership

¹⁸⁵ In 1397 “Robert Duncani MacLagmayn”, [Raibeart mac Dhonnchaidh MacLaghmainn] received papal mandate, at the petition of Robert III, to marry Anna, daughter of Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles. *CPL Benedict XIII*, 79; *Lamont Papers*, no. 19.

¹⁸⁶ *Lamont Papers*, *passim*, especially nos. 23, 53; *Surnames*, 504; AT, charter dated 13 March 1515. A “Goffred Lamaney”, is also named as late rector of Kilmory in Arran in a papal bull in July 1433. GUS, PRO Transcripts Resignations Series A (1423–1523) PRO 31/9/27, 319, fol. 243r.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix A, no. 272.

¹⁸⁸ The patronymic “Duncani” could suggest that Gofraidh was actually the brother of Raibeart (see above, n. 185). If so, perhaps the presence of Gofraidh’s son at Kilberry, a church seemingly in Clann Dòmhnail patronage by 1427, could suggest that the father received the benefice after Raibeart’s marriage? For further ties between marriage and ecclesiastical preferment, see above, p. 144, n. 172.

¹⁸⁹ Watt, *Graduates*, 179, 181. This is accepted by W.D.H. Sellar, “MacDougall Pedigrees in MS 1467”, *SWHIHR*, first series, 29 (1986), 3–16, at 13.

¹⁹⁰ Watt, *Graduates*, 179; *LMMS*, 125, n. 9.

of Clann Dubhghaill,¹⁹¹ while both the political context and his ecclesiastical career argue firmly against a MacDubhghaill origin.¹⁹² Conversely, the political alignment of Angus' rival, Màrtainn "de Ergaill", would imply that the latter was a MacDubhghaill.¹⁹³ While there are no confirmed cases of *Martinus* in the MacDubhghaill kindred during this period, the presence of contemporaries "Martinus Filani", prior of Ardchattan (1371–1395), and "Martin of Argyll", prior of the Dominican friary of Stirling in 1363, would suggest that a MacDubhghaill origin remains a probability.¹⁹⁴

Indeed, most identifiable MicDubhghaill clerics date to this later fourteenth-century period, when the regional hegemony of the clan was rapidly diminishing.¹⁹⁵ Eoin mac Dhubhghaill was in all probability a MacDubhghaill; not only was his forename characteristic of the ruling lineage, but he occupied the two most important benefices in their patronage – the archdeaconry and the bishopric – for over three decades between 1361 and 1395.¹⁹⁶ "Dugallus Petri" [Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair], rector of Kilmore (1371–1380) and bishop of Dunblane (1380–1398 × 1411), who used both the *de Lorne* and *de Ergadia* designation in his supplications, was a son of Gille-Peadair, son of Alasdair of Argyll and brother of Eòghan mac Ghille-Pheadair, an early member of a cadet branch of the MacDubhghaill family active in Connacht as *gallóglaich* in the Irish wars.¹⁹⁷ Whereas Eòghan and his son fought and died in their chosen

¹⁹¹ *Aonghas* does not feature at all in the genealogies constructed by Sellar, "MacDougall Pedigrees in MS 1467", 11, 14. However, it was used by Clann Laghmáinn and Clann Lachlainn, the chief noble kindreds in Cowal. *HP*, iv, 69, 87; *AS*, i, no. 116; *Lamont Papers*, nos. 78, 85, 114, 130, 197, 235. Note also the appearance of an Aonghas MacLaghmainn, cleric of Kilfinan, in 1536. Appendix A, no. 51.

¹⁹² Aonghas was rector of Dunoon and held benefices in St Andrews and Aberdeen dioceses and, as a clerk of David II, was appointed to the bishopric in direct opposition to the candidate of Edward Balliol (the chief ally of Clann Dubhghaill). Appendix A, no. 80. He probably owed his Dunoon benefice to Raibeart the Steward (i.e. Stewart), whose family were locally dominant. Boardman, *Campbells*, 86, n. 17.

¹⁹³ A papal petition in March 1342 by Balliol in support of Màrtainn's appointment claimed that he was "zealous" for Edward III and implies close political affiliation with Clann Dubhghaill. However, there is no basis for Bishop Keith's claim that Màrtainn was of a "branch of the ancient lords of Lorn". *Foedera*, ii, part ii, 1189; iii, part i, 369, 370, 378, 379; Watt, *Graduates*, 181–182; Robert Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, 287.

¹⁹⁴ NAS GD124/1/517; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 10.

¹⁹⁵ Boardman, *Campbells*, 65–68.

¹⁹⁶ *Fasti*, 35, 47. See also Appendix A, no. 414, and MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", appendix A, no. 446, for possible kinsmen. For the forename *John*, see Sellar, "Hebridean Sea Kings", 194, table ii; Boardman, "Leper John", 221, table iv.

¹⁹⁷ The *gallóglaich* (Galloglashes) were heavily-armoured warriors of Hebridean descent who fought for Irish lords from the thirteenth century onwards. Sellar, "MacDougall Pedigrees in MS 1467", 13–15; K. Nicholls, "Scottish mercenary kindreds in Ireland, 1250–

role, Dubhghall's probable son, Eoin mac Dhubhghaill "*alias Clerk alias de Lorne*", followed him into the Church, serving as rector of Kilmore in 1394.¹⁹⁸ Cadet lineages from expanding families always faced the challenge of carving out a new role for themselves in order to support and maintain their status in Gaelic society. Physical migration into the mercenary profession abroad was already an established method of coping with patrilineal expansion and the incumbent pressure that it placed upon landed families with finite resources.¹⁹⁹ However, these cases of MicDubhghaill churchmen during the late fourteenth century illustrates that the territorial nobility, like the *aos dána*, occasionally used the Church as a safety valve to maintain social prestige.²⁰⁰

In contrast with the late fourteenth century, only a couple of identifiable MicDubhghaill secular churchmen occur during the subsequent 200 years.²⁰¹ This is perhaps surprising given that the senior Dunollie line of Clann Dubhghaill continued to operate as hereditary bailies under the new Stiùbhart lordship of Lorn and controlled the patronage of the precentorship of Argyll.²⁰² However, it would appear instead that Ardchattan Priory, over which they retained the temporalities and perhaps also the patronage, was the favoured outlet for MicDubhghaill nobles wishing to enter the religious life in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁰³

The upward social mobility of certain kindreds in Argyll also quickly manifested itself in ecclesiastical appointments. The forfeiture of Clann Dòmhnail and the lordship of the Isles in 1493 provided the opportunity for clergy from the expanding Clann Ghill-Eathain to ascend to the most

1600", in *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600*, ed. S. Duffy (Dublin, 2007), 86–105, at 102.

¹⁹⁸ Appendix A, no. 315. He previously served as vicar of Monzievaird, in Dunblane diocese. *CPL Benedict XIII*, 46.

¹⁹⁹ A.I. Macinnes, "Social Mobility in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Gaeldom: The Controvertible Evidence", *TGSI* 58 (1994), 371–405, at 397; Nicholls, "Mercenary kindreds", 105.

²⁰⁰ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 23.

²⁰¹ "Dougall McDowale", chancellor of Argyll (1549) is the only verifiable secular churchman of MacDubhghaill origin after the fourteenth century. *Fasti*, 44. "Malcolmus MacDugaylbyg" or "Macdubhgayibig" was canon of Argyll between 1426 and 1442. His second name might be the original Gaelic surname *MacDubhghaill* with the descriptor "B(h)ig", which translates as 'little MacDubhghaill', although it may also be a patronymic ('son of little Dubhghall'). He could be the same figure as "Malcolmus MacDowale", dean of Kintyre in 1405. *CPL*, vii, 461, 465; ix, 407–408; *RMS*, ii, no. 379.

²⁰² Boardman, "Leper John", 233; *CSSR*, v, no. 403. In Scotland, the bailie was the chief magistrate of a barony or part of a county, having functions equivalent to those of a sheriff.

²⁰³ *LMMS*, 133–135, 136; Gregory, "Dean of Lismore's Chronicle", 324.

prestigious ecclesiastical offices within its growing sphere of influence, including Iona Abbey and the bishopric of Sodor.²⁰⁴ Similarly, the local parochial livings of Kilcolmkill in Morvern and, to a lesser extent, Killintag, which during the previous century were the preserve of senior Clann Dòmhnaiill kinsmen or individuals closely associated with their lordship, were usually occupied by Clann Ghill-Eathain clergy during the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, none of them can be confirmed as close kinsmen of the Kingairloch branch of Clann Ghill-Eathain. An eighteenth-century genealogy states that “Master John Angus”, rector of Kilcolmkill (1560–1580) belonged to the MacGhill-Eathain family of Knock, a cadet lineage of the Kingairloch kindred which had already served in the Church for three generations (“Mhr Sheoin parson, mac Mhr Innis person mac Mr Iain Dean mac Mr Eoin sagart mac Iain vic herlich ga vodh n’ardvianach mac Eachin Reganich a ciad Tigherna bhe air Siol Eachin”: Mr John person, son of Mr Angus person, son of Mr John Dean, son of Mr John priest, son of Iain son of Charles ‘ga rodh n’ardvianach’ [Ardmeanach in Mull], son of Hector Reaganach, first lord of the seed of Hector).²⁰⁵ The identification of “Angus Ewinsone”, rector of Killintag (× 1542), with “*Mhr Innis person mac Mr Iain Dean*” is incorrect,²⁰⁶ but the other three candidates, whilst obscure, bore forenames which were characteristic of the Kingairloch kindred.²⁰⁷ Their provision to Kilcolmkill is hardly unexpected, as this was the preferred burial ground for the Kingairloch lineage during the fifteenth century, though by the mid-1500s senior members were also staffing more prestigious and lucrative ecclesiastical offices, including the bishopric of Sodor and the commendatorship of Iona.²⁰⁸ In such circumstances it could be that these were lesser members of the expanding kindred rewarded with parochial livings while greater members were more

²⁰⁴ *LMMS*, 116–118.

²⁰⁵ N. Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests: The History of the Clan Maclean, 1300–1570* (East Linton, 1995), 141.

²⁰⁶ Maclean-Bristol, *Clan Maclean*, 141. The suggestion that “Ewin” was an error for *Eoin* is not implausible (see Sellar, “MacDougall Pedigrees”, 6) but is ruled out by his appearance as “Angus Eugenius”, late rector of Killintag, in 1550. Appendix A, no. 451. *Ewen* or *Eòghan* was popular among other local kindreds, including the MacGhill-Eathain family of Ardgour and Clann Chamshroin so the origins of this individual remain unclear. *LMMS*, 132; *ALI*, appendix C, p. 251.

²⁰⁷ “Charolus McClane”, “Hector John Makelan” and “Rodericus Hectoris Jo[h]annis”. The latter two could be a father and son. *Charolus* [*Tearlach*], *Hectorus* [*Eachann*] and *Rodericus* [*Ruairidh*] were characteristic names of the wider Kingairloch kindred. *LMMS*, 130–131; Appendix A, nos. 442–44, 452.

²⁰⁸ *LMMS*, 129–131, 132.

fruitfully employed elsewhere. In any case, the emergence of these clerics attests to the degree of upward social mobility experienced by Clann Ghill-Eathain in the aftermath of the 1493 forfeiture of Clann Dòmhnail.

CLERGY FROM LEARNED AND ECCLESIASTICAL KINDREDS

The concept of the Church acting as an 'overspill' for individuals anxious to maintain their high social status is most commonly associated with members of the *aos dána*, who could not continue in their chosen profession because of a lack of employment opportunities.²⁰⁹ MacGregor argues that late medieval Gaelic Scotland is "awash" with examples of learned individuals who moved into the Church on an *ad hoc* basis, and that ecclesiastics from the learned orders constituted a dominant cohort from which the Church "recruited heavily".²¹⁰ This, however, is a contentious point, not least because of the renewed debate, led by McLeod, as to the extent of 'learned' kindreds beyond the western *Gàidhealtachd*.²¹¹ The answer really depends upon how liberally one chooses to define the meaning of 'learned', not only in terms of the wide variety of professions that are conventionally included within its scope (poets, genealogists, lawmen, physicians, musicians, smiths, as well as the more vaguely entitled 'literary men' and 'scribes'), but also in terms of the number of individuals from various kindreds that appear in the historical record performing these duties and may be considered 'learned'.²¹² There is also the considerable problem of how, and indeed whether, it is correct to label a kindred as primarily 'ecclesiastical' or 'learned' in focus when its members were simultaneously engaged in both secular and religious duties. Whilst bearing these issues in mind, the approach here is conservative in scope and seeks simply to establish how many observable cases of clergy there are from recognised learned kindreds active in Argyll during the late medieval era and to establish the identity of those whose occupational surnames imply a learned origin; clergy from recognised ecclesiastical kindreds are treated separately as far as is possible.

Thus far, scholars have identified a dozen or so clergy bearing the surnames of various professions and lineages associated with ecclesiastical

²⁰⁹ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 23.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 23, 29–31.

²¹¹ McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, chap. 2.

²¹² Thomson, "Learned Orders", 68; Bannerman, "Lordship", 232.

benefices in Argyll diocese.²¹³ Most are clearly identifiable: the Ó Brolcháin and Ó Miadhaigh (anglicised as *Omay*) kindreds – who were also associated with stonemasonry and weaving respectively – account for the bulk of these, with single representatives from the MacBeatha (anglicised as *Beaton*) medical and MacMhuirich poetic kindreds.²¹⁴ There is also one representative from the MacLachlainn lineage of Craiginterve, who were hereditary physicians to the earls of Argyll; the MacLachlainn lineage of Kilbride, an ecclesiastical dynasty dedicated specifically to service in the Church, derived from a branch of this medical kindred.²¹⁵ Scholars have struggled to correctly identify the lineage of “dominus Johannes Iudex”, who in December 1510 was named as the late rector of Gigha and of Kilcolmkill in Morvern,²¹⁶ but it seems clear that he should be identified with “John Donaldi”, vicar of Kilchoman in Islay, who sought dispensation to hold both churches in April 1498; he was named as “dominus Johannes Breif” (from *Breitheamh*, the Gaelic name for ‘judge’), the late vicar of Kilchoman, in January 1511.²¹⁷ These designations, together with the high status of other incumbents at Kilcolmkill and Kilchoman

²¹³ MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 31, n. 137, provides a list of these; see also Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 30, n. 10. Contextual evidence would suggest that the citation of John Goldsmith or Aurifaber, rector of Arran (1477) as another learned candidate is doubtful. See above, p. 111, n. 12.

²¹⁴ Appendix A, nos. 173, 182, 183, 186, 235, 435, 450 (Ó Brolcháin); 193, 243, 258, 265, 267–68 (Ó Miadhaigh). For the MacBeatha cleric, see below, pp. 153–54; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 11; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 141; Appendix A, nos. 240, 397. For “Johannes Makmurich” [Eoin MacMhuirich] see Appendix A, nos. 471, 480; D. Thomson, “The MacMhuirich Bardic Family”, *TGSI* 43 (1960–63), 276–304, at 287–288.

²¹⁵ “Archibald Leche”, chancellor of Argyll (1501–1511) was notary to the letter of gift from the Earl of Argyll to “John Leche Angusonne of Cragynterf and to his lawful heirs they being leeches” (Gaelic *lighiche*, or ‘doctor’) on 2 February 1512. Craiginterve lay in the parish of Kilmartin. AT, at date; Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 30, n. 10; Appendix A, nos. 40, 165.

²¹⁶ *RSS*, i, nos. 2172, 2173. Bannerman (*LMMS*, 128) tentatively identified him with a “John MacAlister”, rector of Gigha and Kildalton, Islay, though Barrell, (“Church in the West Highlands”, 32, ns. 54, 55) argues for Eoin MacMhuirich. This is based upon the reading of the presentation of MacMhuirich to the rectories of “St Congani de Knokfurd, Arissak et Morven”, on 9 October 1506. *RSS*, i, no. 1338. Barrell tentatively suggests “Morven” as referring to the church of Kilcolmkill in Morvern, which “Johannes Iudex” held before his death in 1510. However, Kilcolmkill in Morvern was never associated with either Arisaig or Knoydart, whereas the latter two were often associated together both before and after this date. It is likely that only two churches are involved here and that “Morven” should be read as “Morver” or “Morvar”, in reference to the locality of Morar. These lands all belonged to the lordship of Garmoran and were typically listed together in official records, for example, “terra de Arassayk de terra de Morowore et de terra de Cnudeforde”. *ALI*, no. 7, appendix A, p. 207.

²¹⁷ *RSS*, i, no. 2178.

and their southerly location, would suggest that he was probably from the Mac a'bhreitheamhainn (anglicised as *MacBrayne* or *Brown*) dynasty of hereditary lawmen centred upon Islay during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²¹⁸

A further three clergy of probable learned origin may also be suggested. "Roderick Maccathayl", rector of Eilean Fhionain ($\times$ 1387), may have been a MacMhuirich,²¹⁹ while "Nigellus Leche", rector of Craignish (1530) six years after the incumbency of "Archibald Leche", was doubtless another member of the MacLachlainn of Craiginterve family, located in the neighbouring parish of Kilmartin.²²⁰ More significant, however, is the appearance of "Maurice, son of John Meredonayllilith", priest of diocese of Sodor and supplicant for the vicarage of Kilkerran in 1456. He is probably identical with "Maurice MacDonolich", rector of Gigha in April 1498, and is likely to have belonged to the same 'MacDòmhnail Lighiche' lineage as "Cristinus Donaldiyleich" ["Gille-Críost son of Dòmhnall the physician"], vicar of Killeen (1408) and archdeacon of Sodor (1408–1441). John Bannerman identified this earlier individual as of MacBeatha origin, but in a supplication of July 1405 he was named as "Cristinus Dominici called MacDonnailylech", which suggests that "Donaldiyleich" was not a patronymic but actually the style MacDòmhnail Lighiche. This would indicate that these clerics came from an ecclesiastical family which was itself spawned from a lineage founded by a prominent member of a medical kindred (possibly of MacBeatha descent) named 'Dòmhnall Lighiche',

²¹⁸ Bannerman, "The Scots Language and the Kin-based Society", 13–14; *ALI*, p. xliii, appendix C, p. 257; *Surnames*, 107, 449, 459. A probable kinsman, "sir Angus Makbreochane" was late chaplain of St Finlaggan's Chapel on Islay before 1503. *RSS*, i, no. 911. Three more clergy bearing the names of lawmen occur in the diocese of Sodor: "dominus Kormacus Cormacii Iudicis", archdeacon (1320) and bishop-elect of Sodor (1325 $\times$ 1331); "Mattyar Johannes Judex", clerk of diocese of Sodor, who sought provision to the parish church of "St Columba de Hey" on 10 September 1372; and "Donald Iuderis", who was late rector of St Bridget in Barra, diocese of Sodor, on 2 August 1549. *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* [DN] (Kristiania, 1849–1919), xviii, no. 10, www.dokpro.uio.no [accessed 9 September 2008]; *Fasti*, 262, 272; *Reg. Aven.*, 184, fols. 87v–88; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2667, fols. 299–300r.

²¹⁹ *Cathal* is a characteristic MacMhuirich name. C. Ó Baoill, "Scotticisms in a manuscript of 1467", *SGS* 15 (1988), 122–139, at 122–124.

²²⁰ *Neill* (or *Niall*) was probably a characteristic forename of the Craiginterve kindred, as it occurs among their branch lineages of Kilbride and of Kilchoan. Bannerman, "MacLachlans of Kilbride", 18, 28. I have omitted two potentially confusing cases, namely, "John Leche", supplicant for the archdeaconry (1388) and "Johannes Leiche", vicar of Muckairn (1527) because there are other contemporary Lowland clergy who also bear this name. See Watt, *Graduates*, 340; *RSS*, i, nos. 1615, 1910, 3172.

who himself existed sometime in the early to mid-fourteenth century.²²¹ Their descent points to a permanent move into the Church rather than a temporary shift from the medical profession. Indeed, leaving these two individuals aside, the number of clerics from the *aos dána* is unimpressive. It suggests that, as a rule, the movement by individuals into the Church upon an *ad hoc* basis was actually a relatively rare occurrence during the late medieval period.

This notion is further supported by the Uí Brolcháin and Uí Miadhaigh clerics who were active in Kintyre and Knapdale during this time. At least some of their number would be more logically explained by the foundation of a branch lineage specialising in the Church, akin to that of the MacLachlainn dynasty of Kilbride, rather than of random instances of individual movement. The fact that four of the five clerics named Ó Brolcháin were associated with church benefices at Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, that three were named “Nigellus”, and that two were sons of priests, are characteristic of close kinship and are all indicators of the possibility of an ecclesiastical lineage.²²² Uí Brolcháin clerics did not fully monopolise the ecclesiastical livings of Kilcolmkill, but their longevity there – spanning some 156 years – suggests a genuine dedication to the ecclesiastical life and probably permanent residency.²²³

Similar commitment is evident among clerics from the Ó Miadhaigh kindred, who consecutively served as prebendaries of Kilberry from before 1531 until 1574.²²⁴ Two of these prebendaries were named “Cornelius” Ó Miadhaigh, and both were successively deans of Kintyre between 1520 and 1574; it is likely that they were father and son.²²⁵ The lineage stretched

²²¹ *Reg. Suppl.*, 1057, fol. 188v; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 4. *Dòmhnall* was a characteristic forename in the MacBeatha kindred. See *ibid.*, 12, 45, 152–153. My thanks go to Martin MacGregor for discussing this with me. There are two more ecclesiastics worth mentioning, both of whom belonged to the MacDhuinnshléibhe kindred. “Johannes Maccunleue” was a cleric who got involved in a violent fight with a priest in Kilcalmonell church in 1438. He perhaps belonged to a lineage which served as physicians in Cowal – “Donald the doctor macdunlawse” occurs in a charter at Inveraray dated 1528, see AT, at date; ASPA, vol. 2, fol. 144v; CSSR, v, no. 592; Janet P. Foggie, “*Archivium Sacrae Pœnitentiariæ Apostolicæ* in the Vatican Archives as a source for Scottish historians”, *IR* 47:2 (1996), 110–126, at 123 and n. 44; *HP*, iv, 95–96. In 1487 an Irish Franciscan from the diocese of Cloyne, “Donatus Makdunlawe”, held the prebendary of Rathven in the diocese of Aberdeen, despite remaining resident in his native Ireland. CSSR, vi, no. 1399.

²²² See pp. 120, 177, n. 76.

²²³ The MacGriogair ecclesiastical lineage of Fortingall did not always monopolise its parochial benefices. See MacGregor, “Fortingall”, 37, 75, n. 5.

²²⁴ Appendix A, nos. 265, 267–268.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 265, 268.

back to the mid-fifteenth century, for in April 1498 this elder “Cornelius” Ó Miadhaigh first appeared under the name of “Cornelius junior Cornelii seniorii”, where he acknowledged that he was the son of a priest. Later that year he appeared under the guise of “Conqueir Oman”, prebendary of Kilberry, from which we can deduce that *Cornelius* represented Gaelic *Conchobar*. It is very likely he was the son of “Cornelius Cornelii” (probably Conchobar mac Conchobhar), supplicant for the vicarage of Kilcalmonell in June 1450.²²⁶ Another kinsman, Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh, prebendary of Kilberry (1531), also fathered a son who followed him into the Church.²²⁷ The Ó Brolchán and Ó Miadhaigh kindreds – who were both of Irish origin – could perhaps be more profitably understood as having spawned ecclesiastical lineages which were active in the diocese of Argyll.

However, other ecclesiastical lineages chiefly known for their contribution to, and preservation of, late medieval Gaelic culture, such as the families of MacGriogair at Fortingall, MacPhàil at Muckairn and MacLachlainn at Kilbride, are less prominent than one might presume.²²⁸ Admittedly, this could be attributed to poor source survival: although there are only two recorded incumbents at Kilbrandon in the entire medieval period, the description of the MacLachlainn family of Kilbride as “heritable vicars” of Kilbrandon in 1616 implies that there was a long-standing association by the sixteenth century.²²⁹ In some instances it is difficult to distinguish them from other churchmen who shared the same surname but who probably derived from territorial kindreds. “Gilbertus MacLaclan or Torleti”, vicar of Kilbride (1422–1424) and chancellor of Argyll (1424–1452), belonged, according to *AC*, to “clan lathane”, and seems more likely to have been an early MacLachlainn of Kilbride rather than a descendant of the distant Clann Lachlainn of Strathlachlan. On the other hand, “Johannes Makgregour”, vicar of Muckairn (1527), probably derived from the ruling MacGriogair lineage of Glen Strae in neighbouring Glenorchy parish,

²²⁶ Appendix A, nos. 255, 258. *Cornelius* could also represent Gaelic *Toirdhealbhach* (anglicised as *Charles*). Bannerman, “Literacy”, 218. My thanks go to Martin MacGregor for discussing this name with me.

²²⁷ *RSS*, ii, no. 4739.

²²⁸ Seumas and Dubhghall MacGriogair, vicars of Fortingall, respectively dean (1514–1551) and chancellor (1559–1576) of Argyll. *Fasti*, 41–44; Eoin MacPhàil, vicar of Kilbrandon (1530); “Patrick Macan(r?)dene” (a MacLachlainn), vicar of Kilbrandon, (1558–1579). Appendix A, nos. 283–84. For these lineages see Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, *passim*; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 150–151; MacGregor, “Fortingall”, *passim*.

²²⁹ Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 7. MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 27–28, suggests that the ecclesiastical lineage was founded in the later fifteenth century.

than from Fortingall.²³⁰ The origins of the incumbent MicPhàil rectors who appear in Kilmichael in Kintyre during the later fifteenth century are harder to determine, but their locality and relatively early date may suggest that they were distinct from the MacPhàil kindred associated with Muckairn in the sixteenth century.²³¹

These small kindreds have somewhat overshadowed two much older ecclesiastical lineages which made the greatest contribution to the Church in later medieval Argyll: Clann Mhic Gille-Mhìcheil and Clann Mhic an Deòir (anglicised as *Dewar*). The traditional association of Clann Mhic Gille-Mhìcheil with Lismore Cathedral dates back to the thirteenth century,²³² but even during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries they were still the pre-eminent ecclesiastical kindred in the region, with four individuals associated with five parochial and two cathedral livings in Lorn alone.²³³ Yet, kindred members also occupied benefices further afield in Cowal, Kintyre and even Sodor during this period.²³⁴ Perhaps this was a sign of wider recognition of the expertise of specific MicGille-Mhìcheil ecclesiastics, possibly together with their own realisation of wider opportunities available through the medium of papal supplications.²³⁵ Alternatively, the timing could be demonstrative of the lineage's

²³⁰ AC, 168; Bannerman, "MacLachlans of Kilbride", 29, n. 9; MacDonald, "Bishop George Lauder", 120–121; MacGregor, "Fortingall", 50.

²³¹ Appendix A, nos. 234, 236. The designation of "Donaldus Nigelli Makphaell" [Dòmhnall mac Niall MacPhàil] as being of the diocese of Ross, together with the incumbency at Kilmichael, a church in Clann Dòmhnall patronage, implies an association with the lordship of the Isles during their period as earls of Ross. He was also literate: "Donaldus McFaiil, priest, of the diocese of Ross", was notary public of imperial authority for a grant of land to the rector of Rothesay on 10 December 1490. Fraser, *Montgomeryes*, ii, 50. They may be kinsmen of Dòmhnall MacPhàil, prior of Oronsay (× 1538), a monastery founded by Eoin, first Lord of the Isles. Bannerman, *Beatons*, 150–151; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 166.

²³² See above, pp. 44, 54–56.

²³³ Appendix A, nos. 279, 287, 294, 368–69; *Fasti*, 42, 45. Three were sons of priests, so the true total number of MicGille-Mhìcheil ecclesiastics was certainly higher.

²³⁴ Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil, supplicant for rectory/vicarage of Kilfinan (1409, 1423) and prebend of Kilchousland (1427). "Duncan Patricii" or "Macgillamigel", vicar of Torosay, Mull was dead before 1 May 1428 and is probably identifiable with "Duncan Patricii", rector of Strath (× 1426), Killintag (× 1426) Kilmichael (1427) and prebend of Kilberry (1427) and who was dead by 18 April 1428. CSSR, iii, 31, 51, 167; Appendix A, nos. 31, 33, 222, 228, 262, 449. The two kinsmen "Johannes Dugalli MacMaelmicheil", supplicant for the vicarage of Kilcalmonell (1436) and "Dugaldus Dugaldi MacMaelmicheil", rector of Kilmory in Arran (1433), and supplicant for the rectory of Kilmichael (1436), who bear the form *Mael-* rather than *Gille-*, seem to have belonged to another distinct kindred, perhaps from Bute: a "Gilbertus McOlmichaell" had sasine of lands there in 1564. *CPL*, viii, 473; *ER*, xix, 533; *Surnames*, 543.

²³⁵ A.D.M. Barrell, "Papal Provisions in Scotland in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries", in *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. B.E. Crawford (Edinburgh, 1999), 215–225, at 220–221.

reputed loss of ecclesiastical patronage and status in Lismore – perhaps not, as tradition would have it, because of the bishop of Argyll – but rather because of the downfall of the MicDubhghaill lords of Lorn in 1388. Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhicheil was named in 1414 as a clerk of Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe and was in service to Clann Chaimbeul for about a decade, yet by 1428 he and his kinsman, “Duncan Patricii”, were both delivering their petitions in the name of Alasdair, Lord of the Isles.²³⁶ The shifting allegiances may indicate a search for a new patron, but if so it was ultimately unsuccessful, as MicGille-Mhicheil clergy disappeared altogether after this date.

Stephen Boardman suggests that Iain Mac an Deòir, provost of Kilmun (1489 to 1511), was perhaps a member of a family of hereditary custodians of the crosier of St Fionntáin Munnu, called *an Deòradh*, at Inverchapel, near Kilmun, the centre of the saint’s in Cowal.²³⁷ There are, however, at least three more clergy of this surname who held benefices in Mid-Argyll and Cowal during the fifteenth century.²³⁸ The ecclesiastical careers of all these clerics were closely connected to the ruling lineage of Clann Chaimbeul that exercised control over these benefices and coincides with that family’s deepening attachment to St Fionntáin’s cult.²³⁹ Their probable Cowal provenance is further indicated by the regular appearances of Iain Mac an Deòir and Raibeart Mac an Deòir as witnesses to charters in the locality, these often being framed at Kilmun church itself.²⁴⁰ This kindred appear to be distinct from their Glen Dochart namesakes in origin

²³⁶ AT, charter dated 4 June; CSSR, ii, 177–178, 188–189; Boardman, “The Campbells and charter lordship”, 116, and n. 67.

²³⁷ Boardman, *Campbells*, 270; Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 154, n. 88. See also RMS, ii, no. 2385; OPS, 2:1, 72.

²³⁸ Appendix A, nos. 36, 49, 91, 96, 120, 136, 170, 339. For other possible Mic an Deòir clerics, see AT, dated 6, 7, and 8 May 1498 (twice), 29 March 1499, 17 June 1530 and 20 April 1558.

²³⁹ The developing interest of Clann Chaimbeul in St Fionntáin’s cult has been the subject of recent comment by Boardman. It is interesting that within this context the first appearance of a Mac an Deòir cleric in a charter issued by a Clann Chaimbeul chief does not occur until 4 August 1442, after the foundation of Kilmun College, though Raibeart, vicar of Craignish (1434–1440), was doubtless identical to Raibeart Mac an Deòir, vicar of Craignish in 1442. AT, at date; Boardman, *Campbells*, 142; Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 137; N.D. Campbell, “The Origin of the Holy Loch in Cowal, Argyll”, *SHR* 10 (1912–13), 29–34, at 32–34. It is possible he was an ancestor of the later Mac an Deòir family recorded at Kilchoan in Craignish in the seventeenth century. Gilbert Márkus, *Power and Protection: The ‘Torbhlaran Bell’, its Shrine and the Relic Tradition* (Kilmartin, 2009), 6–7.

²⁴⁰ (Iain Mac an Deòir) AT, charters dated 26 March, 25 May and 10 December 1481, 25 July 1483, 19 June 1489, 14 May 1493, 18 July and 6 November 1495, 24 June 1498, 30 July 1501, 27 July 1508, 30 July 1511; NAS GD112/75/5; (Raibeart Mac an Deòir) AT, charters dated 4 August 1442, 30 October 1448, 6 July 1452.

and by virtue of their ecclesiastical duties. Whereas the Mac an Deòir kindred in Glen Dochart were confirmed laymen with custodianship of specific relics, the Mac an Deòir lineage in Cowal were all churchmen with benefices and responsibility for the cure of souls. Curiously, none of them ever appears directly connected with the relic itself. Their surname suggests that they had initially acted in this capacity at an earlier date, but had gradually moved on into parochial offices. However, it is equally possible that different branches of the kindred may have performed both roles simultaneously.²⁴¹

Attention should also be paid to three clerics surnamed *MacPhaidein* who occur as cathedral dignitaries in Lismore between 1386 and 1511, two of whom were rectors of Kilmore parish church in Lorn, *ante* 1417 until 1436.²⁴² According to an oral tradition recorded in the nineteenth century, the MacPhaidein kindred originally possessed the lands of Lochbuie but were expelled by the incoming Clann Ghill-Eathain (who arrived in the fourteenth century) and became a wandering race of artificers.²⁴³ While there is no contemporary support for this tale, the MacPhaidein kindred have always been heavily associated with the locality of Lorn and Mull, most famously in the fictional character of “Makfadyan(e)” in Blind Hary’s *Wallace* of c. 1476–1478.²⁴⁴ The careers of the three MicPhaidein clerics certainly support the notion that they probably belonged to an ecclesiastical lineage of considerable standing in Lorn. We have already encountered “sir Morris McFadzane”, treasurer of Argyll, in the debacle with Bishop Lauder in 1452, but his father, Gille-Chòmhghain, whom he succeeded in the rec-

²⁴¹ Alasdair Campbell of Airds suggests that the MacMunns (Gaelic *MacGille-Mhunna*, ‘son of the servant of Munn’) kept the staff or crosier of St Fionntáin Munnu. Although this overlooks the presence of a separate Mac an Deòir kindred in Cowal, the suggestion has validity, as one “Gilchrist McGillemond” features among the witnesses to the Inverchapel sasine of 11 December 1497. Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, 124–125, 255–256; AT, at date. Kindred members continued to feature in writs connected with Glassary and Cowal. *Surnames*, 545–546; AS, i, nos. 245, 262, 363; ii, 327, 329, 334.

²⁴² Appendix A, nos. 317, 321; MacDonald, “Clergy of Argyll”, appendix A, no. 448; *Fasti*, 42, 45, 47. Dòmhnall MacPhaidein, precentor of Argyll (1491 × 1492–1511), was also rector of Tobermory on Mull before 23 February 1540. RSS, i, no. 3397.

²⁴³ J.G. Campbell, *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands* (London, 1895), 41; HP, ii, 86, n. 2; Maclean-Bristol, *Clan Maclean*, 22; N. Maclean-Bristol, “The Seed of the Goldsmith”, *SWHIHR*, series 3, 5 (2002), 23.

²⁴⁴ See above, pp. 106–07. For MicPhaidein members in this region see HP, i, 260, 300; *Argyll Estate Instructions: Mull, Morvern and Tiree, 1771–1805*, ed. E.R. Creegan (SHS, 1964), 14, 15, 17, 93. There is, however, good evidence of a MacPhaidein kindred in Glassary and North Knapdale during the seventeenth century. See HP, ii, 208, 210, 214, 216; AS, i, nos. 132, 192, 445.

tory of Kilmore, was also a major dignitary of Lismore Cathedral, occupying the dignities of the treasurership (1386–1391), precentorship (1425) and the archdeaconry (1390–1397).²⁴⁵ Dòmhnall MacPhaidein also held the precentorship between c. 1491 and 1511, presumably at the presentation of the patron, the Earl of Argyll, in whose retinue he appears on several occasions.²⁴⁶ The longevity of the MacPhaidein association with Lismore under successive bishops of Argyll and lords of Lorn, contrasts with the downfall of Clann Mhic Gille-Mhìcheil, and demonstrates that local ecclesiastics were never entirely brushed aside in favour of non-local clergy.

Many of the remaining secular clergy who bore identifiable surnames were apparently drawn from small landowning kindreds that were often cadet or satellite families affiliated to a leading local clan. “Kemacius [*lege* ‘Kennicius’] Dugalla McGilloon”, vicar of Muckairn (× 1430), probably belonged to the kindred of Macghill’onfhaidh (anglicised as *MacGillonie*) of Strone in Lochaber, who were affiliated with Clann Chamshroin.²⁴⁷ “Allanus Outhtr” or “Oghtre”, vicar of Glenorchy (1471–1481), probably belonged to MacUchtraigh (or MacUchtre, anglicised as *Ochiltree*) kindred in Cowal, as perhaps also did “David Uchtre”, provost of Kilmun (× 1465–1476) and vicar of Lochgoilhead (× 1488).²⁴⁸ “Dougall McKellar”, vicar of Lochawe (1556), probably derived from the MacEalair (anglicised as *MacKellar*) kindred of Ardare in Glassary, who were the most prominent in the service of the earls of Argyll.²⁴⁹ “Morice Patricii Hilarii”, who earlier sought the vicarage of Glenorchy in August 1441 at the behest of the chief of Clann Chaimbeul, was almost certainly another MacEalair kinsman.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ *Fasti*, 42, 45, 47. For the succession to Kilmore see below, pp. 177, 196, n. 158, 197.

²⁴⁶ *Fasti*, 42; MacDonald, “Clergy of Argyll”, appendix A, no. 448; AT, charters dated 30 July 1501 (Dunoon); 12 April 1507 (Edinburgh); 24 January 1510 (Perth); 11 September 1511 (Stirling); 30 July 1511 (Dunoon).

²⁴⁷ *Surnames*, 502; Macinnes, *Clanship*, 5.

²⁴⁸ Alternatively, “David Uchtre” may be from Dunblane diocese; his first probable appearance is as David “Ouchtour”, a priest of Dunblane diocese in a charter of Clann Chaimbeul in December 1456. There were three more beneficed clergy from this diocese, including a bishop, named “Ouchtrie” and “Ouchtre” during the mid-fifteenth century. *CSSR*, i, 235; iv, nos. 1172, 1201. The origin of this Dunblane group is unknown but were presumably distinct from the relatively obscure MacUchtraigh kindred in Cowal, who held the lands of Glendaruel from the Earl of Argyll. *Surnames*, 634; N.D. Campbell, “Some Highland Pedigrees: A Correction”, *Celtic Review* 9 (1913–14), 347–349, at 348; Boardman, *Campbells*, 150, 156, 270.

²⁴⁹ *OPS*, 2.1, 47; *RMS*, ii, no. 1219; *LMMS*, 139, where Bannerman speculates that he was commemorated in a graveslab on the wall of Kilchrenan (Lochawe) parish church.

²⁵⁰ *Hilarius* was the Latin equivalent of *Ealair*, the eponymous name of the kindred, though its use here indicates that this was also the forename of the cleric’s grandfather.

Some clerics in Mid-Argyll and Cowal shared the same surname as local landowning kindreds whose chiefs, although grandly titled “barons”, were actually client kindreds of Clann Chaimbeul or of their cadet branches, and were probably part of the *daoin’-uaisle* or lesser landowning class. “Gilbert Machperson”, vicar and later rector of Glassary (1409–1420), doubtless belonged to the local Mac a’Phearsain kindred who were attached to Clann Chaimbeul, but were still of sufficient local importance in 1355 for its head to be identified as a “baron”.²⁵¹ The chaplain of Kilmun in 1527, “Archibald McIlkeanisch”, was probably from the MacMaolChoinnich kindred,²⁵² while “John Makorquedal”, vicar of Glassary (× 1429) was doubtless from the MacCòrcadail kindred of Phantilands, another local baronial family whose fortunes were on the wane.²⁵³ These are just some of the confirmed cases that are available to us, yet they underline the importance of the lesser landowning kindreds in the staffing of the secular Church in Argyll.

Examination of the benefices possessed by individuals of high social status reveals that only the small elite of clergy who were directly linked through kinship or service with the *fine* occupied the greatest offices of bishop and archdeacon. The vast bulk occurred as incumbents of rectories and prebends, though a fairly high number of vicarages feature. Most of the vicarages tended to be either held in plurality with another benefice, or were located at churches whose patrons treated it as a family living for their own kin, as for instance at Kilmartin. In addition, other nobles found in vicarages were only there because appropriation of the rectories and their revenues by religious institutions had left them with a limited choice of ecclesiastical livings in their own locality. This helps explain why a number of higher status clergy occupied vicarages in the

Surnames, 490, 524. For instances of *Ealair* as a forename, see *HP*, iv, 199–200; *Argyll Commons*, 32.

²⁵¹ *HP*, ii, 139, and n. 1.

²⁵² *Surnames*, 554; *HP*, iv, 46–48. The Duke of Argyll speculated that the family may have held a hereditary office with the “ancient Church of Kilmalasch [Kilmaghlas]”, which may suggest parallels with the MacThàmais lineage. *HP*, iv, 48. The only pre-Reformation cleric on record at Kilmaghlas was actually of MacEacharna descent, but local tradition asserts that the church was of ancient origin. J.S. Howson, “Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Argyllshire: No. II, Parochial Chapels”, *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society* (1842), 78–104, at 90.

²⁵³ Their downward social mobility was exhibited on 16 October 1434 by the resignation by Baron MacCòrcadail of the patronage of Lochawe parish church to “the magnificent and potent” Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe “my most special lord” (*domino meo singularissimo*). *HP*, ii, 155–156, n. 1.

Cowal and Kintyre peninsulas. Undoubtedly, wealth was also an issue and may explain the apparent popularity of the vicarages of Lochgoilhead and Kilfinan, which were of greater value than other rectories in the same deanery.²⁵⁴ Therefore, while it is true that most clergy of higher social status tended to occupy the rectories and prebends, there is no clear social distinction to be drawn between incumbent vicars and rectors. Furthermore, this did not preclude the possibility that men of high social status would also staff the more humble ecclesiastical offices below that of a vicarage. Instances of curates and chaplains are comparatively sparse, but it would be foolish to assume that they were all of humble origins, particularly as those which have been identified originated from local minor landowners and local ecclesiastical lineages.²⁵⁵ In addition, the appearance of an individual named Archibald Cunningham in the curacy of Dunoon in 1548 indicates that at least some parishes were sufficiently attractive to men of a relatively high social origin.²⁵⁶

Thus while a sizeable minority of the secular clergy derived from other regions beyond Argyll, the overwhelming majority were of local origin. Most of these, moreover, belonged to families from the lesser nobility, the *daoin'-uaisle* class, and typically served the Church in their own parish or locality. The exceptions to this rule were individuals operating within the ecclesiastical networks of Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul, which enabled them to obtain livings within these secular lordships. Those so favoured, however, were few in number and were either kinsmen or individuals closely attached to their administration.

²⁵⁴ In the fifteenth century Kilfinan was valued at between 10 marks sterling, 25 marks old sterling and £12 sterling while Lochgoilhead was variously valued at 15 marks sterling or £6 to £8 sterling. This was a greater value than the rectories of either Kilmun (8 marks sterling) or Kilmalieu in 1466 (12 marks sterling). *CPL Benedict XIII*, 102, 212; *CSSR*, ii, 141; iv, nos. 808, 823; *CPL*, vii, 266, xii, 242–244; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2059, fol. 34r. These estimations are, however, notoriously unreliable: see *CSSR*, iv, no. 791; v, no. 1105 where the same estimations are given in pounds sterling. *CSSR*, v, no. 537, illustrates the negative impact of the falling value of Scots money upon clerical living standards during the fifteenth century.

²⁵⁵ Appendix A, nos. 104, 159–60, 244.

²⁵⁶ *Curatus* was sometimes used to designate the incumbent charged with the cure, so it is possible he was rector, although Dunoon's rectory was attached to the episcopal *mensa* in 1498. My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for alerting me to this point.

CHAPTER FOUR

CLERICAL CELIBACY, ILLEGITIMACY AND HEREDITARY SUCCESSION

Scholarly research in the field of medieval sexuality has, especially since the opening of the Apostolic Penitentiary archives in the 1980s, made significant advances throughout Europe in recent years. Considerable light has been shed upon contemporary attitudes to clerical celibacy, concubinage and illegitimacy, and the impact they had upon the composition of the medieval Church in various regions.¹ Efforts to enforce clerical celibacy were at best “sporadic and often ineffective”, ensuring that concubinage remained the norm throughout western and central Europe, and society at large did not consider it particularly offensive.² It has even been suggested that priest-sons who followed in their father’s footsteps were so important that “the organisation of the Church would have collapsed” without them.³ Some recent research on Scottish clerical requests to the Papal Penitentiary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries now provides a much-needed Scottish context, but gives little attention to Argyll, which admittedly constituted less than 3% of clerical supplicants.⁴ Indeed, study

¹ James Brundage’s corpus of writings on medieval canon law and sexuality is exhaustive, but see J. Brundage, “Sin, crime and the pleasures of the flesh: the medieval church judges sexual offences”, in *The Medieval World*, ed. P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (London, 2001), 294–307; B. Schimmelpfennig, “*Ex fornicatione nati*: studies on the position of priests’ sons from the twelfth to the fourteenth century”, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, new series, 2 (1980), 3–50; C. Rousseau, “Pope Innocent III and the familial relationships of the clergy”, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 14 (1993), 107–148; L. Schmugge, “Cleansing the consciences: some observations regarding the fifteenth-century registers of the papal penitentiary”, *Viator* 29 (1998), 345–361; M. Haren, “Social Structures of the Irish Church: a new source in papal dispensations for illegitimacy”, in *Illegitimität im Spätmittelalter*, ed. L. Schmugge (Munich, 1994), 207–226; Salonen, *Penitentiary*; L. Wertheimer, “Illegitimate birth and the English clergy, 1198–1348”, *JMH* 31 (2005), 211–229; Jartiz, Jørgensen and Salonen, *et usque ad ultimum terrae: The Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts*; K. Salonen and L. Schmugge, eds., *A Sip from the “Well of Grace”: Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary* (Washington D.C., 2009); H. Parish, *Clerical Celibacy in the West: c. 1100–1700* (Aldershot, 2010).

² Brundage, “Medieval church judges sexual offences”, 299; Schmugge, “Cleansing the consciences”, 359.

³ Schimmelpfennig, “*Ex fornicatione nati*”, 38.

⁴ J. McDonald, “The Papal Penitentiary and Ecclesiastical Careers: The Requests of Scottish Clergy in the Registers of the *Sacra Penitenzieria Apostolica*, 1449–1542”, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Aberdeen, 2005), appendix 6, p. 240; McDonald, “Requests of Scottish Clergy”, appendix 4, p. 50.

of clerical celibacy in Gaelic Scotland has continued to remain reliant upon anecdotal evidence cited from the papal archives. Annie Dunlop, having observed that a “large proportion” of clerical dispensations for defect of birth (*defectus natalium*) and concubinage were of West Highland provenance, concluded that these were lingering “Celtic practices” which demonstrated that the stigma of concubinage and illegitimacy was weaker here than in the rest of country.⁵ Most of the discussion since then has emanated from Gaelic scholars primarily interested in exploring the importance of kinship and concubinage in the medieval Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*. This clan society had a casual attitude to sex, it tolerated customs which allowed for temporary marriages, divorce, transient sexual unions and concubinous relationships among the elite – all in the pursuit of continuing the male succession and furthering the clan interest. It made little social distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children born to them.⁶ John Bannerman stated that the kindred ideal “considerably influenced” the staffing of the pre-Reformation Church in the lordship of the Isles where there was “an almost total disregard for clerical celibacy at all levels” in its parishes and monasteries.⁷ Martin MacGregor has argued that the clergy were well integrated into late medieval Gaelic society and culture, and exhibited the same values, traits and behaviour as the rest of Gaelic world.⁸ Clerical concubinage and the production of ecclesiastical lineages were the “inevitable” consequence of staffing the Church with local men from a society which was based on the kindred, with its own distinctive practices towards sex, marriage and succession, and in which concubinage was commonplace.⁹ The indifference of the clergy towards celibacy and the emergence of kindreds who treated the priesthood as a hereditary profession was just one manifestation where the Church “cut its cloth to suit its host society”.¹⁰ Ecclesiastical historians, however, have added virtually nothing new since Dunlop’s original conclusions some 40 years ago and scope exists for a thorough investigation of illegitimacy

⁵ CSSR, ii, p. xxviii; Dunlop, “Notes on the Dioceses of Sodor and Argyll”, 183–184.

⁶ Sellar, “Marriage, Divorce and Concubinage in Gaelic Scotland”, 464–493. See also Cathcart, “Inressyng of kyndnes”, 127–138.

⁷ Bannerman, “Lordship”, 231.

⁸ MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 18–19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 5, nn. 16, 17–19; Bannerman, “Lordship”, 232. Such customs were derived from Gaelic secular marriage practices from Ireland, which Kenneth Nicholls described as the field of life in which that country’s “apartness” from the mainstream of European society was most marked. K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin, 1972), 73.

¹⁰ MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 18, 19, 21.

within the contemporary Gaelic and wider European context. This chapter will address the importance of illegitimate and concubinary clergy in the diocese before embarking upon a survey of the nature and extent of ecclesiastical dynasties or kindreds in Argyll.

In pre-industrial societies it was the natural course for male offspring to follow the craft or occupation which they had learnt from their father. The sons of priests were no different, and naturally wished to follow in their fathers' footsteps by entering the priesthood. However, unlike other professions, priest-sons who wished to embark upon an ecclesiastical career in holy orders (i.e. from subdeacon upwards) were required by canon law to obtain papal dispensation before they could receive provision to a benefice with cure of souls.¹¹ This rule formed a critical element in the Gregorian reform movement's strategy to bring an end to clerical marriage, to which they were opposed theologically, as priests who engaged in sexual activity sullied the purity of the altar. There were, however, practical reasons too: male offspring frequently received from their priest-fathers their own ecclesiastical offices as an inheritance, while church property was often alienated for the support of concubines and as marriage dowries for daughters.¹² The continual reappearance of concerns about inheritance of clerical office in the decrees regarding illegitimacy at the Second Lateran Council of 1139 illustrates that the reformers had priest-sons in mind when they created *defectus natalium*.¹³ Canons specifically discouraged the formation of clerical families, threatening concubinary clerics with deprivation, banning parishioners from attending their masses (thus heightening concerns about their efficacy) and forbidding anyone from demanding any ecclesiastical office on the plea of hereditary right.¹⁴ Reformers recognised a definite link between clerical families and the hereditary transmission of benefices from father to son, and it was a major obstacle to their efforts to divorce the Church from

¹¹ Canon 21, "The Canons of the Second Lateran Council", in "Ecumenical and General Church Councils", *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, at www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook-law.html. [accessed 26 September 2007].

¹² Rousseau, "Innocent III and familial relationships", 109–110; Schumgugge, "Cleansing the consciences", 358–359; Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 19–20. For earlier legislative antecedents concerning clerical continence, see Parish, *Clerical Celibacy*, 59–88.

¹³ Wertheimer, "Illegitimate birth", 213, and n. 7. See also Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 12–19.

¹⁴ Canons six, seven and 16 in "The Canons of the Second Lateran Council", in "Ecumenical and General Church Councils", *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook-law.html. [accessed 26 September 2007]. Parish, *Clerical Celibacy*, 117–118, 129.

familial and secular priorities, particularly concerning ecclesiastical property and promotions. By imposing celibacy upon those in holy orders and by placing their offspring beyond the legal and moral framework of the community, they hoped to raise the moral standards of the existing secular clergy whilst ensuring that those who succeeded them in office would be a worthy example to society.

The Papal Penitentiary was the officially designated authority responsible for, among other things, issuing dispensations to those hampered by illegitimacy. It has become the chief port of call for scholars interested in the illegitimate clergy as a discrete group in late medieval society.¹⁵ Substantial numbers of illegitimate clergy chose this avenue to obtain dispensation with some 37,400 requests from illegitimate men for dispensations from all around Europe between 1449 and 1533.¹⁶ Unfortunately, for our purposes it is of limited value, as there are only 26 supplications for dispensation from illegitimate clerics and candidates to orders in Argyll between 1449 and 1542 (see table 6).¹⁷ Of these, 23 were dispensations *de defectu natalium* ('concerning defect of birth') and three *de uberiori* ('concerning further graces' – requests from illegitimates to hold a second or third benefice with pastoral care).¹⁸ Although none were as yet in major orders, they were clearly intended for a serious ecclesiastical career, as local authorities, including bishops, retained the power to enable all illegitimates (including priest-sons) to receive lower orders and minor livings.¹⁹ Altogether, 65% of the illegitimate candidates from Argyll who required dispensation from the Penitentiary were sons of men with a canonical commitment to celibacy (secular and regular), the vast majority of which – 82% – were the offspring of priests.²⁰

¹⁵ One exception is Laura Wertheimer's use of English episcopal records. Wertheimer, "Illegitimate birth", 221–223.

¹⁶ Salonen and Schmugge, *Well of Grace*, 58.

¹⁷ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 50.

¹⁸ My deepest thanks go to Dr Jennifer McDonald for generously providing data concerning Argyll and Sodor from her analysis of Scottish penitentiary petitions in Rome. All subsequent calculations are based upon this information. Readers should also be aware of further GUS transcripts of *Penitenzieria Apostolica, Registra Matrimonialium et Diversorum* [entitled GUS ASPA], vols. 1–158, referring to additional petitions designated as pertaining to Argyll. Future study of the original petitions will be required to corroborate their accuracy or otherwise.

¹⁹ Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 195.

²⁰ Decimal figures are rounded up or down accordingly. My thanks go to Michael Haren for clarifying these points with me.

There exists a substantial corpus of regional analyses of the Penitentiary which enables us to compare Argyll's Penitentiary petitions in a wider context. The number of supplications to the Penitentiary from Sodor between 1449 and 1542 was almost twice as much as that of Argyll over the same period, but a restricted examination of the pre-1472 illegitimate petitioners, who numbered 30 altogether, provides a useful numerical comparison.²¹ It reveals that 73% of the illegitimates from Sodor between 1449 and 1472 were sons of religious celibates, and of these, 86% were sons of priests.²² The evidence of the Penitentiary thus indicates a slightly higher tendency towards illegitimate offspring among priests and religious celibates in Sodor than on the adjacent mainland of Argyll. The most significant contrast, however, is with the rest of the kingdom, for Argyll and Sodor were both markedly higher than the Scottish national figure, which showed that 55% of illegitimate clerical supplicants to the Penitentiary were sons of religious celibates between 1449 and 1542.²³ Their figures also appear noticeably higher than Germany, whose petitions to the Penitentiary show that some 50% of supplicants were the sons of religious celibates (i.e. all in major orders), and higher than the European average of roughly 60%.²⁴ A closer comparison might perhaps be made with the Swedish-Finnish ecclesiastical province of Uppsala – where priest-sons accounted for 70% of the clerical petitioners between 1410 and 1539 – or with Ireland, where around 53% of illegitimate petitioners were sons of clergy in major orders (chiefly priests) or religious regular clergy between 1449 and 1533.²⁵ As always, however, the paucity of the Penitentiary material from Argyll means these figures should not be relied upon too heavily.

Trends are probably of greater value, and an interesting insight may be gained by observing the proportion of clerics to scholars in Argyll, which is a reversal of the pattern found in the rest of Scotland and Europe

²¹ McDonald, "Requests of Scottish Clergy", appendix 3, p. 49. Torstein Jørgensen's figures for Sodor are not based upon all of the volumes in the Vatican Secret Archives. Jørgensen, "At the Edge of the World", 31. Jennifer McDonald, pers. comm.

²² There are some cases of duplication. For instance, "Iohannes Laclam Macimirich" [*lege* 'Laclani Macmirich'] of Sodor diocese features in our Argyll calculations because he is probably identical with Eoin MacMhuirich, who served in Arisaig and Knoydart. See below, p. 169, n. 30.

²³ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", appendix 7, p. 241.

²⁴ Schmugge, "Cleansing the consciences", 359; Haren, "Social Structures", 219, 224–225; Salonen and Schmugge, *Well of Grace*, 59.

²⁵ K. Salonen, "The Supplications from the Province of Uppsala: Main trends and Developments", in *Long Arm of Papal Authority*, 42–59, at 56; Haren, "Social Structures", 224. My thanks go to Michael Haren for discussing these Irish figures with me.

generally. Between 1449 and 1542 Argyll *clerici* and *scholari* accounted for 65% and 23% of illegitimate petitioners, respectively. This pattern was also shared by neighbouring Sodor, where *clerici* accounted for 77% of illegitimates between 1449 and 1472. Yet in Scotland as a whole the reverse was true: *clerici* accounted for 29% and scholars 56% between 1449 and 1542, while in Europe generally the respective figures were 33% (*clerici*) and 62% (scholars).²⁶ The designation *clerici*, that is 'clerks' or 'clerics', denoted individuals in minor orders, possibly already holding an ecclesiastical office, whereas *scholari* or 'scholars' were individuals who had yet to enter even minor orders.²⁷ This could suggest that most supplicants to the Penitentiary from Argyll and Sodor were ecclesiastics in minor orders, and that a number were already actively involved in the local Church. This is not unusual and occurred elsewhere,²⁸ but the great disparity suggests it was a far more prevalent circumstance in Argyll and Sodor than in the rest of Scotland or Europe.

Moreover, in this case the parentage of the *clerici* may be significant. 70% of illegitimate *clerici* in Argyll were sons of priests and religious celibates, a slightly higher proportion than the equivalent total in the diocese as a whole, which stood at 65%.²⁹ Such a pattern may suggest that, regardless of canon law, local ecclesiastical authorities in late medieval Argyll may have given *de facto* approval for illegitimate sons of priests to remain in their fathers' homes and train for the priesthood.

While the Penitentiary supplications are a valuable source for the origins of those in lower orders, there are valid reservations as to how representative they are of the beneficed clergy of Argyll as a whole. Illegitimates from Argyll who petitioned the Penitentiary were only candidates to holy orders, they were not beneficed churchmen, and the overwhelming majority of these supplicants do not subsequently feature among the beneficed on record.³⁰ For these reasons the Penitentiary proves, on its own, an insufficient guide to the extent of clerical illegitimacy in Argyll.

²⁶ McDonald, "Requests of Scottish Clergy", appendix 2, p. 48; Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 199.

²⁷ Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 199; J.R. McDonald, "Illegitimate Scots in the Registers of Supplications and the Registers of the Apostolic Penitentiary during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471–1484)" in *Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts*, 33–42, at 35 n. 6. *Clerici* is used here to distinguish its general usage in the text as a term for churchmen of all orders.

²⁸ Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 33.

²⁹ Surprisingly, in Sodor the proportion was smaller; illegitimate *clerici* accounted for 65% of petitioning priest-sons between 1449 and 1472.

³⁰ The only exceptions are John Lauder, Eoin Caimbeul, Iain Mac an Deòir and Dòmhnall "MacFadiy" [probably MacPhaidein]. *Penitenzieria Apostolica, Registrum*

A more representative picture is provided by the Register of Supplications between 1342 and 1560, where the majority of late medieval beneficed clergy of Argyll, numbering over 260, actually appear. The Chancery (and later Datary) could issue dispensations for illegitimacy, but with the added bonus of being able to collate the dispensed illegitimate to a specific, named benefice.³¹ Requests for dispensation from defect of birth by Argyll clergy were routinely framed together with requests for licence to be promoted to all holy orders and to hold a benefice with cure of souls. This practice reduced the expense of making repeated requests for dispensation and was followed by petitioning clergy from England.³² Altogether, about a fifth of all the Argyll churchmen who appear in the Chancery records were illegitimate ecclesiastics, the clear majority of whom were sons of religious celibates, while the remainder were sons of laymen or of unspecified status.³³ One may also add a small number of clerics who sought legitimation by petitioning the Scottish monarch during the early sixteenth century (table 6).³⁴ Most of the clerics found in these two sources were the illegitimate offspring of men in major orders or who had taken vows of celibacy, of whom no less than 80% were the sons of priests. Altogether then, over 66% (or more than two in every three) of the illegitimate clergy of known parentage were the offspring of religious celibates, the vast majority of whom were serving in the secular Church (see table 7).

Unfortunately, because supplicants to the Penitentiary sought dispensation before they received office and, because so few of them actually feature as incumbents, it is difficult to accurately collate their figures

Matrimonialibus et Diversorum [Penitenzieria Ap., *Reg. Matrim. Et Div*], 4, fol. 157v; 14, fol. 258r; 17, fol. 178r; 32, fol. 201r. "Iohannes Laclani Macmirich" who was probably Eoin mac Lachlainn MacMhuirich and future dean of Knoydart, is registered with Sodor diocese. T. Jørgensen and G. Saletnich eds., *Synder Og Pavemakt, Botsbrev fra Den Norske Kirkprovinns of Suderøylene til Pavestolen 1438–1531. Dipolmatarium Poenitentiariae Norvegicum* (Stavanger, 2004), 185, no. 140.

³¹ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 47.

³² Wertheimer, "Illegitimate birth", 220.

³³ Ten were the sons of unmarried parents, eight were the sons of noble lay parents, and three were of unspecified illegitimate status. These calculations are based upon *CPP*; *CPL*, vols. i–xx; *CSSR*, vols. i–vi; *Reg. Suppl.*; *Reg. Aven.*

³⁴ *RMS*, iii, no. 3239; iv, no. 24; *RSS*, ii, no. 2910; iv, no. 2402; v, part i, no. 311; MacGregor, "MacGregors", 76 and n. 29. Gille-Brighde MacMhaoil-Chaluim, vicar of Lochgoilhead and Iain MacMhaoil-Chaluim, chaplain of Kilmartin were sons of "dominus Johannes MacOlchallum". The latter could be identified with the chaplain of Kilmartin too, but as this figure was contemporaneous with Gille-Brighde, it is more likely that he was his brother.

with those of the Chancery and Datary. The beneficed clergy that feature in the papal sources only constitute a portion of the total number of clergy found in the diocese and almost all the cases were admissions by supplicating clerics; only four took the form of allegations.³⁵ This may suggest that plaintiff clergy in Argyll did not consider illegitimacy an effective means of depriving an incumbent of their benefice. A more accurate barometer of the scale of illegitimacy would be to calculate the proportion of clerics admitting their illegitimacy in relation to the overall number of priests that supplicated the *Curia* and who thus had opportunity to mention any such defect. Altogether, about 28% of the clerics who supplicated the Chancery and Penitentiary between 1342 and 1560 admitted to being the sons of religious celibates, usually secular priests. Although there were other avenues to gain dispensation (for which see below), this suggests that in Argyll priest-sons constituted a significant minority of the beneficed clergy and that the hereditary route was a key, though perhaps not fundamental, contributor to staffing of the diocesan church.

This figure, however, can only offer a minimum indication of the contribution of priest-sons in the diocese, for there are other signs that priestly descent was commonplace in the West Highlands. A peculiar benefit of the Gaelic use of the patronymic is that it provides us with the name of the father of the supplicant. Latin genitives were almost invariably used in papal sources to represent the name of the father rather than a kindred surname.³⁶ One example already cited is “Gofredus Goffredi Duncani”, vicar of Kilberry (1436–1454), and probable son of “Godfredus Duncani Lagmanin”, vicar of Kilfinan (× 1397–1409),³⁷ but there are other cases where suspected father and sons succeeded (directly or indirectly) to the same benefice, all of them dating to the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Argyll supplications to Rome were generally lower.³⁸ Other churchmen bore second names that implied clerical descent. *MacPherson*, *MacVicar*, *MacChananaich* (from *Mac a’chananaich* – ‘son of the canon’) and *MacAndene* (from *Mac an deadhain* – ‘son of the dean’) were all popular names in Argyll and wider Scots Gaeldom. Their forms could refer to a patronymic and inherently to an individual of illegitimate birth, or to an established surname, in which case the illegitimacy referred to would

³⁵ *CPP*, 633; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 312, 318, 320; v, no. 418; *CPL*, xvii, part ii, no. 53.

³⁶ MacGregor, “MS 1467”, 140; MacGregor, “MacGregors”, 23–24.

³⁷ See above, pp. 146–47.

³⁸ Appendix A, nos. 234, 236, 265, 268, 346, 347. *Fasti*, 50, incorrectly identifies the two named “Cornelius Omey” as one man.

have occurred at an earlier stage in the family.³⁹ The degree of reliability in such instances is variable at best, and flimsy when no other correlative factors are in evidence, but their popularity points to a widespread practice which was recognised and incorporated within the host society.

The terminology used in papal sources could itself mask possible offspring. For instance, "Dungall Johannis Dungalli" [Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill], petitioner for the rectories of Arisaig and Knoydart in 1506, was the ten-year-old son of an "unmarried man and unmarried woman", and was almost certainly fathered by "John Dougalsen" [Eoin mac Dhubhghaill], the last known parish priest for both churches.⁴⁰ The supplication doubtless omitted this because the father was not yet ordained to major orders when the son was born. Hypothetically, it is possible that a substantial percentage of those individuals described as sons of "an unmarried man and unmarried woman" may include clerics born of simple fornication (i.e. born of unmarried lay parents who were still free to marry), but whose fathers had subsequently received holy orders.⁴¹ Indeed, this may explain why there is such an obvious discrepancy in the Scottish figures from the Penitentiary, where the number of illegitimate sons of unmarried parents or son of priests in the kingdom dwarfed illegitimate sons of clerics or acolytes.⁴² In contemporary Ireland there are similar cases where a *de facto* clerical marriage was temporarily suspended so the father could receive major orders.⁴³ Consequently, the number of illegitimates sprung from men who held ecclesiastical office may be higher than the sources themselves indicate.⁴⁴

Bishops also possessed powers to dispense men born of simple fornication, and could also permit all illegitimates of whatever background, to receive lower orders.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, there are no extant episcopal registers in Scotland, but they have radically altered the demographic picture of illegitimate clergy in England and thus demonstrate the need for caution.⁴⁶ Papal records are not exhaustive, and a large number of the

³⁹ It is unclear whether an anglicised name, such as "Patrick Clarkson" [Pàdraig mac a'Chlèirich], treasurer of Argyll in 1486 (*Fasti*, 45), should be interpreted literally as a patronymic meaning 'clerk's son', or as an established surname.

⁴⁰ *CPL*, xviii, no. 640. See above, p. 143 and n. 169.

⁴¹ Wertheimer, "Illegitimate birth", 214.

⁴² McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", appendix 7, p. 241.

⁴³ Haren, "Social Structures", 219.

⁴⁴ It is possible that some clerics considered legitimate were actually of illegitimate birth, the parents having married during the pregnancy.

⁴⁵ Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 33.

⁴⁶ Wertheimer, "Illegitimate birth", 219, 221–223.

clergy who feature only appear posthumously when supplicants wanted provision to a vacant benefice. Under these circumstances, the death of the previous incumbent was sufficient grounds for provision and negated any requirement to make allegations about his parentage. Many of the dispensations for *defectus natalium* sought from the *Curia* also went unrecorded, as the recipients of dispensations were not obliged to enrol them in the papal registers. Given the extra expense this entailed, it would not be surprising if most probably chose not to do so. Others who asked for dispensation may have been sent home with a mandate for their bishops to investigate their fitness and to dispense them if found worthy.⁴⁷ This too, would leave no trace in the papal record.

In addition, a significant proportion of the clergy may have already obtained papal dispensation by other means. Legates and nuncios were often delegated the power to dispense illegitimates before embarking upon their mission. Among the powers granted to Finlay of Albany in his role as papal nuncio in March 1418 was the faculty to dispense 12 persons from illegitimacy, “even if they be sons of priests” and to have them promoted to holy orders with the right to hold two compatible or incompatible benefices with or without cure.⁴⁸ The relatively small number of dispensations granted is probably a reflection of the desire of the papacy to retain control over this power rather than a comment upon the conditions in Scotland itself. These powers did not lie dormant and Finlay used them to dispense senior illegitimate churchmen; in at least one instance he promoted the son of a priest to the archdeaconry of Sodor.⁴⁹ Similar powers were probably granted to later nuncios such as Anthony Altani, bishop of Urbino, who also promoted clerics to senior positions, including Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe to the archdeaconry of Argyll in 1437.⁵⁰ The presence of other legates with such powers may explain why suspected illegitimate figures like Eoin mac Dhubbghaill “*alias* Clerk” never once featured as such in papal correspondence.⁵¹ Abbots and bishops could occasionally receive these powers too, and the latter often asked for

⁴⁷ Ibid., 217.

⁴⁸ *CPL*, vii, 6. This power presumably lapsed (or was already exhausted) by the time Finlay was elected to the see of Argyll.

⁴⁹ *CSSR*, iv, no. 784.

⁵⁰ This could explain why Dubhghall never mentioned defect of birth in his papal correspondence. Boardman, *Campbells*, 134–135, 144, 161, n. 21; Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 137; *CSSR*, iii, 137–138; iv, nos. 782, 789, 797, 800, 806.

⁵¹ He shared the same Argyll benefice (Kilmore) and territorial designation as his probable father Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair, bishop of Dunblane. See above, p. 148.

licence to do so upon their election to the see, which routinely entailed visiting the papal court; upon his election in 1349 William, bishop of Sodor, was permitted to dispense eight illegitimate persons “so as to be ordained and hold a benefice apiece”.⁵² No bishops of Argyll are recorded as having done so upon their election, but on his visit to the *Curia* in the Summer of 1411 Bishop MacGill-Anndrais received faculty to dispense “any person of his city or diocese of any defect of birth to be promoted to all holy orders and to hold two benefices . . . notwithstanding the said defect of birth or the constitutions of the council of Poitou or any other statutes or customs to the contrary”.⁵³ What was extraordinary about this indult was its liberality – the letter simply stated that the faculty was “to be effective for two years from the date of the present letters [7 July 1411]”, which implies the bishop could dispense and ordain as many sons of priests as he wanted within that period.⁵⁴ This deviated from the usual procedure, which imposed a strict numerical limit upon the numbers they could dispense.⁵⁵ The bishop’s pleas in the *Curia* doubtless influenced the decision to grant such an open-ended faculty, and certainly both he and the wider clergy seem to have taken full advantage of it. Following 25 years of regular correspondence between Argyll and the *Curia* no more clerical petitions regarding illegitimacy emanated from Argyll in the eight years after 1411 (see table 8), a period during which petitions from Scotland as a whole to the *Curia* were actually on the increase.⁵⁶ The powers granted to the bishop were presumably not solely responsible for this decline and it is paralleled in neighbouring Sodor, but it did remove a major incentive for petitioning the papal court and offered priest-sons in MacGill-Anndrais’ episcopate a significantly cheaper option.⁵⁷

Considering the alternative means of acquiring dispensation and the problems with surviving sources, together with the popularity of priestly surnames in the diocese, it seems likely that illegitimate sons of ordained clergy made up a larger proportion of the beneficed staff in Argyll than the surviving evidence suggests.

⁵² Wertheimer, “Illegitimate birth”, 217, 219.; *CPP*, 168.

⁵³ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 242. The synod of Poitiers in 1078 excluded sons of priests and others born of fornication from major orders. J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. (Paris, 1907–27), xx, col. 498E–499A, canon 8.

⁵⁴ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 242.

⁵⁵ Wertheimer, “Illegitimate birth”, 218.

⁵⁶ *CPL Benedict XIII*, p. xxxi.

⁵⁷ There is just one papal letter from Sodor in this period, in 1416. *Ibid.*, 349–350.

The indult of 1411 was exceptional, and there is no evidence that it was ever repeated. Petitions to the Chancery and Penitentiary were fairly regular throughout the fifteenth century, which suggests that the papal court was the usual route for illegitimates from Argyll as it was with most illegitimate Scots clergy.⁵⁸ The notable peaks in the 1420s and 1430s reflect the wider trends in the Argyll petitions in the Register of Supplications (see table 1 and table 8). However, from the decade of 1450–1460 onwards we find additional petitions being directed to the Penitentiary. Although records exist from 1410, the early volumes before 1448 were imperfectly registered and many are missing.⁵⁹ It is difficult to say to what extent their non-survival may have altered our figures for the first half of the century. However, the period when the greatest number of petitions from Argyll to the Penitentiary occurs – between 1460 and 1470 – is one in which petitions to the Chancery generally were not especially numerous.⁶⁰ All of these requests during this decade were for dispensation from candidates for holy orders. Why this upsurge occurred is again hard to resolve, though it could reflect a renewed determination on the part of the diocesan authority (Bishop Lauder) to enforce canonical regulations at ordination ceremonies.⁶¹ Those who failed to meet the requirements at ordination ceremonies were compelled to seek papal approval.

The major decrease in requests between 1490 and 1560 mirrors wider Scottish and European trends, which also saw a significant decline in petitions concerning illegitimacy to the Penitentiary. This may be attributable to the increasing accessibility of dispensation from local ecclesiastical authorities, with the creation of the metropolitan see of St Andrews in 1472 providing a cheaper nearby means of acquiring dispensation. Archbishops Scheves (1476–1497), Stewart (1497–1504) and Forman (1514–1521) each possessed the status of *legatus natus* ('native legate') which allowed them to dispense illegitimates without recourse to Rome. However, later fifteenth-century archbishops rarely exercised this power and, in Argyll's case, access to it was only open for a short window of 20 years before

⁵⁸ McDonald, "Requests of Scottish Clergy", 40–41.

⁵⁹ Salonen, "Supplications from Uppsala", 43, and n. 3.

⁶⁰ Unlike the Penitentiary, the Chancery ceased to function during a papal vacancy. However, there were no long vacancies during this decade to explain this. P. Zutshi, "*Inextricabilis curie labyrinthus* – The Presentation of Petitions to the Pope in the Chancery and the Penitentiary during the Fourteenth and First Half of the Fifteenth Century", in *Päpste, Pilger, Pönitentiarie: Festschrift für Ludwig Schugge zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. A. Meyer, C. Rendtel, and M. Wittmer-Butsch (Tübingen, 2004), 393–410, 409–410.

⁶¹ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 56.

1492 when the diocese was created a suffragan of the new metropolitan see of Glasgow.⁶² The archbishops of Glasgow failed to win legatine powers themselves, but they did manage to secure exemption for their province from the superior authority of St Andrews and this was still in force in 1531.⁶³ In doing so they closed off a potentially cheap and accessible means whereby illegitimate candidates to orders in their province could overcome their disability.

There were other possible local avenues. Papal legates may perhaps have continued to dispense clerics, but how frequently they visited Argyll (or vice-versa) remains unknown given the lack of surviving evidence. There was also an increase in Scottish requests for licence to dispense supplicants in the sixteenth century, but there is no evidence that any of these initiatives emanated from Argyll.⁶⁴ We should not discount the more controversial possibility that canonical regulations concerning illegitimate candidates ceased to be adequately enforced in the sixteenth century. The see of Argyll experienced difficulties during the sixteenth century and did not have a consecrated bishop of its own for most of the period between 1525 and 1560.⁶⁵ This may have disrupted the regularity of ordination ceremonies and the smooth governance of the see, and might potentially have allowed some illegitimate clergy to escape the net.

Litigation from rival clerics against undispensed incumbents or, if priest-sons, against their fathers, should also provide another obvious means of identifying illegitimates. However, Michael Haren comments that in the Irish Church, accusations of concubinage were much less common than might be expected, given the considerable numbers who sought dispensation for illegitimacy.⁶⁶ The picture in Argyll seems similar: the vast majority of illegitimate clergy usually appeared seeking dispensation or legitimation from their defect of birth, and the number of accusations does not correlate at all with the quantity of beneficed churchmen who actually fathered children. There are just five supplications where litigants

⁶² McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 41, 72–73, 222–223; *Fasti*, 383–385; L.J. MacFarlane, "The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472–1521", *IR* 20:2 (1969), 111–129, at 126. For legatine powers see P. Ferguson, *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate, 1125–1286* (Edinburgh, 1997), 14–15.

⁶³ MacFarlane, "Archbishopric of Glasgow", 99–100, 104, 108, 117; Watt, *Medieval Church Councils*, 169–170.

⁶⁴ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 71. A request for special licence was made on 27 February 1550 by John Maccaw ["Johannes Makall"], archdeacon of Argyll, but it concerned lay marriages. GUS, ASPA, vol. 126, no. 1.

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 103–04.

⁶⁶ Haren, "Social Structures", 213.

sought to remove an incumbent on the grounds of *defectus natalium*.⁶⁷ These occurred throughout the fifteenth century, but their number is dwarfed by the amount of individual churchmen (52) who sought and received papal dispensation themselves.⁶⁸ Despite the high number of requests for dispensation for defect of birth, contentious cases were few and far between. As we will see below, those few that did emerge can be variously interpreted as evidence of laxity or ignorance on the suppliant's part.

Dispensations were only valid for the office and benefice specified in an individual petition, meaning that clergy were legally bound to obtain a dispensation every time they wished to be promoted to a higher order or obtain a new benefice.⁶⁹ In Argyll there is just one case where a cleric failed to do so – in a petition of 8 December 1427, Donnchadh mac Phàdraig stated that, although he had originally obtained dispensation for defect of birth to receive a rectory in Sodor diocese, he had failed to subsequently do so for three more benefices in Argyll that he later acquired in the course of his career.⁷⁰ It is conceivable that he mistakenly believed that the one dispensation covered all eventualities, but the number of benefices involved indicates that this situation had prevailed over an extended period.⁷¹ Similar attitudes are detectable in the petitions of Eoin “Mackelaich” for the rectory of Glenelg. On 9 February 1420 he incorrectly stated that he was already dispensed from defect of birth by Apostolic authority, but in a *reformatio* submitted a week later he acknowledged that he was not dispensed at all, but had only committed his case to his Ordinary while he was in the *Curia*.⁷² The impression one derives from such cases is that these illegitimate clerics only sought dispensation when they considered it necessary, either to win or confirm their tenancy of a particular benefice. In the light of this and in consideration of the fact that the Chancery was, over the period, the chief forum for the diocese's

⁶⁷ Interestingly, litigants never sought provision on the basis of a late incumbent's illegitimacy. Death was presumably reason enough to justify a supplication for provision.

⁶⁸ When acknowledging their defect of birth in the supplications, clerics either combined their request for dispensation simultaneously with provision to a specific benefice or stated that they had already been dispensed at an earlier date.

⁶⁹ Wertheimer, “Illegitimate birth”, 215.

⁷⁰ *CSSR*, ii, 177–178.

⁷¹ Donnchadh's unease may have been prompted by the recent appointment of Bishop Lauder, for as a member of the chapter (he was prebendary of Kilberry) he may have felt his position less secure.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 169, 176.

illegitimate clerics, it is surprising that so few attempts were made to unseat undisposed incumbents. Opportunities clearly existed to do so.

For this reason it is interesting to note the benefices and clergy who were involved in litigation. Four of the five petitions specifically concerned benefices in Lorn held by members of the local MacPhaidein kindred. Muiris MacPhaidein was the subject of three petitions, two concerning his rectory of Kilmore in 1436 in which he was accused of inheriting the benefice from his father, Gille-Chòmhghain, who allegedly engineered the transfer while his son was still undisposed for both defect of age and birth.⁷³ Muiris faced further allegations of illegitimate birth in 1451, this time in connection with the treasurership of Argyll, while in 1496 his kinsman Dòmhnall MacPhaidein was similarly accused (wrongly) of holding the precentorship of Argyll for some years without obtaining dispensation for an unstated defect of birth.⁷⁴ All three generations occupied high, attractive ecclesiastical positions in the cathedral chapter making them particularly vulnerable to potential challenge from rival litigants. None of the allegations though, were apparently successful.

A similar pattern is evident in the small number of allegations of concubinage, which again does not correlate at all with the actual number of priests known to have fathered children. There are only eight cases regarding clerical concubinage and fornication in the supplications over the entire period between 1342 and 1560,⁷⁵ yet at least 72 beneficed clergy are known to have fathered children during this period.⁷⁶ Most were born after the father had entered major orders and at least 47 of the fathers

⁷³ CSSR, iv, nos. 318, 320. See below, pp. 196, n. 158, 197.

⁷⁴ CSSR, v, no. 418; CPL, xvii, no. 53. Dòmhnall had received dispensation on 31 January 1483, which shows that he was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman. *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 32, fol. 201v. The other petition was against "Yvarus Colini", vicar of Kilberry in July 1436. He was accused of being the undisposed son of unmarried parents. CSSR, iv, no. 312; CPL, viii, 596.

⁷⁵ CPL *Benedict XIII*, 243–44; CPL, viii, 596, 597, 625; xii, 805; xvii, part ii, no. 51; CSSR, iv, nos. 233, 236, 306, 312; v, nos. 592, 1464.

⁷⁶ 19 were fathers of beneficed clergy whose own benefices remain unidentified, while another 17 were fathers of candidates to orders. Most of this group is calculated from petitioners who admitted to being the "son of a priest", though fathers could have more than one son, which leaves open scope for duplication. Attempts have been made to cover cases of sibling clergy, but other unproven cases may have passed unnoticed. For instance, Niall Ó Brocháin, prebendary of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre (1382), and Niall Ó Brocháin, rector of Killintag (1426), may have shared their same priest-father, but the 44 year gap between the two would suggest that one was the father of the other. Note should be also be made that the number of priests who are recorded as bearing children does not include those who had daughters only.

were already priests.⁷⁷ Roughly translated, this means that about 25% of the beneficed clergy identifiable from Chancery and Penitentiary records were concubinaries, a similar total to the sixteenth-century visitation records from the Low Countries and the Rhineland, where respectively some 25% and 33% of the parish clergy were concubinaries.⁷⁸ There were, nevertheless, plenty of opportunities for benefice-hungry litigants to stake a claim on the grounds of the sexual misconduct of an incumbent.

The high number of requests received by the *Curia* for dispensation from *defectus natalium* illustrates that Argyll's illegitimate clergy scrupulously followed the correct protocol of canon law to ensure security of tenure in their benefice. However, it contrasts sharply with the relative scarcity of litigation to remove incumbents on the grounds of defect of birth or concubinage. The gulf between these figures demonstrates that while there were many opportunities for potential litigation to deprive someone upon these grounds, they were very rarely acted upon. The ambivalent attitudes of local patrons and parishioners may be significant here, for while petitioners would have no difficulty in securing a papal mandate (these were, after all, serious contraventions of canon law), provision would be a pointless expense if there was no chance of actually removing the incumbent. The widespread acceptance of concubinage in the host society may have convinced many not to bother.

What of the illegitimate clergy themselves? Did they represent a coherent, identifiable group among our ecclesiastics or were their characteristics shared across all sections of clerical society? Bernhard Schimmelpfennig has promoted the theory that illegitimacy posed a serious impediment to bastard sons who wished to embark upon an ecclesiastical career in the medieval Church.⁷⁹ The system of dispensations made it possible to attain legitimate status and obtain ecclesiastical office, but it could not "wipe the slate clean" entirely – the dispensation was only good for the holy order (i.e. the subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood) and benefice specified in the text. Supplicants who wished to be promoted to higher office or to hold a different benefice were obliged to request another dispensation.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Only three sons were sired while the father was probably still in minor orders. See below, p. 181, n. 95; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 212; *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 4, fol. 157v; Appendix A, nos. 118, 122. One was born after his father had been consecrated bishop of Sodor. *CSSR*, v, no. 1018.

⁷⁸ J. Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: a new view of the Counter-Reformation* (London and Philadelphia, 1977), 155.

⁷⁹ Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*"; 46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* See also Rousseau, "Innocent III and familial relationships", 112–113.

Schimmelpfennig considered the system to be biased in favour of richer sons as only they could afford the extra financial expense incurred by petitioning the *Curia* repeatedly for dispensations, whereas illegitimate children who lacked the means to finance a trip to the *Curia* and the expense of a dispensation remained “legally and socially disenfranchised”.⁸¹ These arguments have been recently modified by Wertheimer, whose study of the illegitimate English clergy has found that poorer petitioners would send their petitions through another party who was going to Rome rather than by himself, while the expense of making separate requests of dispensations from illegitimacy, benefices and promotion could be reduced by combining them in a single petition. There was, in addition, an opportunity to receive dispensation at home via a visiting legate or nuncio, and we have seen this utilised in Argyll.⁸²

A career in the Church was, of course, the popular route for illegitimate sons of the nobility, and one would reasonably expect, as in the rest of the country, that a proportion of our illegitimate clerics were of noble blood. 12 of the confirmed cases of illegitimate clergy stated that they were of royal, noble or baronial race in the papal petitions,⁸³ and at least another four were illegitimates belonging to the local clan elite or *fine* and Lowland nobility.⁸⁴ Therefore, about 16 illegitimate clergy can be shown to be of noble or baronial status. Between 24 and 27 were from the *daoin'-uaisle* or gentlemen class, which included lesser landholding kindreds, the *aos dána* and ecclesiastical lineages, but the majority – numbering 43 or so – were illegitimates of uncertain origin. Members of Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Dòmhnail dominated the group of illegitimate ecclesiastics of noble blood.⁸⁵ Again, however, there is a relatively high number of

⁸¹ Schimmelpfennig, “*Ex fornicatione nati*”, 46.

⁸² Wertheimer, “Illegitimate birth”, 219–220. See above, p. 172.

⁸³ Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul; Raibeart Stiùbhart; Aonghas mac Eoin of the Isles; John Lauder; Eoin Caimbeul, archdeacon of Argyll; Aonghas mac Aonghais of the Isles; David Hamilton; *Nicholas* Caimbeul. For their origins, see chap. 3. Eoin Caimbeul, prebendary of Kilmodan (1420–25), Eoin MacArtair, John Foster and “Duncan Nigelli Nenaici” [Donnchadh mac Niall mhic Naomhin] were unsuccessful illegitimate litigants of noble status. See below, p. 180; CSSR, ii, 135–136, 140; iii, 260–261; v, no. 418.

⁸⁴ Dubhghall mac Alasdair MacIain; Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail of the Isles; Ruairidh mac Alasdair; Robert Montgomery, archdeacon of Argyll. “Charolus McClane”, rector of Killintag (1542), was an illegitimate, but his precise origins are uncertain. See above, p. 150 and n. 207; *Reg. Suppl.*, 1981, fols. 278v–279r.

⁸⁵ See above, nn. 83, 84.

illegitimate clergy from noble families beyond the West Highlands; a couple were Gaels, but most were from Lowland dioceses.⁸⁶

As these figures include all claimants to the *Curia*, whether successful or not, they probably overestimate the contribution of outsiders at the expense of local illegitimates. Outsiders had greater cause to supplicate the *Curia* than locals, not only because it was one of their major points of access to Argyll's benefices, but also because it provided the extra security of papal approval which a non-native might require in order to fight off local rivals. Local clergy, regardless of their birth, had less need to do so as they already had the support of the patron, who was often also their own kinsman. Indeed, some may have felt so secure in their benefice that they never bothered to ask for dispensation and thus fail to appear in the historical record. Nonetheless, the occurrence of non-local clergy further highlights the need to appreciate the sexual mores of the native nobility within the wider context of the behaviour of the Scottish aristocracy generally, rather than as necessarily demonstrative of behavioural traits exclusive to the Gaelic world.

In contrast with the bulk of illegitimate clergy, most of the illegitimate clergy from the *fine* were born of relationships between lay-folk, usually between parents who were unmarried,⁸⁷ although there were a couple born of adulterous relationships involving married noblemen and unmarried women.⁸⁸ Only four illegitimates from the *fine* were fathered by ecclesiastics, although some of these, such as Aonghas mac Aonghais of the Isles, son of a "bishop of royal stock and an unmarried woman"

⁸⁶ The two Gaels were Raibeart Stiùbhart, diocese of Dunkeld (later of Argyll), vicar of Kilmonivaig, and Donnchadh mac Niall mhic Naomhin, diocese of Dunblane, vicar of Balquhider. The illegitimate Lowland clergy included John Foster, diocese of Glasgow; John Lauder, diocese of Argyll, later of Glasgow; David Hamilton, diocese of Glasgow; Robert Montgomery, diocese of Glasgow. See below, p. 181; *CSSR*, iii, 260–261; iv, no. 798; v, nos. 418, 896; *CPL*, xvii, part i, no. 58.

⁸⁷ *CSSR*, ii, 135–136, 140; iii, 260–261; iv, no. 798; v, nos. 418, 896; *CPL*, vii, 457–458; x, 656; xvii, no. 55; *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 4, fols. 157v, 185v. See table 6, n. 3.

⁸⁸ *CPP*, 576; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 56; *CPL*, x, 715; xi, 39; *CSSR*, v, nos. 540, 589. One of these was Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul, archdeacon of Argyll, who appears as "Neill Dean of Argyll" in a late seventeenth-century genealogical history and who was allegedly "begotten on the Abbot McAlister's daughter". *HP*, ii, 94–95. The MacAlasdair kindred of Loup possessed lands in Kintyre in the fifteenth century, which was also the home of Saddell Abbey. Bannerman, "Lordship", 219. Also see above, p. 128, n. 91. Genealogical tradition also proposes that Ruairidh mac Alasdair, half-brother of Eoin Mùideartach, was born of a relationship between Alasdair mac Ailein, Lord of Clann Raghnaill, and a daughter of Tormod MacGhille-Phàdraig. *RSS*, i, no. 2910; *Clanranald Bk.*, 170.

or Robert Montgomery, archdeacon of Argyll (1554–1601), son of Robert Montgomery, bishop of Argyll, succeeded their fathers by winning high ecclesiastical office themselves.⁸⁹ Illegitimacy was no barrier to career progression for the nobility. However, despite their prominence, it is important to remember that they were small in number, accounting for about a fifth of all illegitimate clergy in the diocese and less than 10% of clergy fathered by religious celibates.

Nearly a third of the illegitimate clergy came from the much broader *daoin'-uaisle* class. Given that this class included clergy from ecclesiastical lineages, this is hardly unexpected, as they looked to the Church as a professional vocation on a hereditary basis.⁹⁰ The pre-eminent ecclesiastical kindred in the diocese, Clann Mhic Gille-Mhicheil, unsurprisingly account for the largest proportion,⁹¹ with a handful of clerics from the Mac an Deòir,⁹² MacPhaidein,⁹³ MacGriogair and MacPhilib [MacPhillip] lineages.⁹⁴ Yet as a group their contribution is insignificant, with just a third of the *daoin'-uaisle* class and only about 12% of all illegitimate clergy readily identifiable as belonging to an ecclesiastical lineage. There are several reasons for this small total. Some ecclesiastical kindreds, such as the lineages of Mac a'Bhiocair of Glenaray and MacLachlainn of Kilbride, were still in their infancy during the later fifteenth century when the system of papal provisions from Argyll was on the wane and when other means of acquiring dispensation were becoming available. Some may not have bothered to seek dispensation, perhaps because they felt sufficiently secure as to render acquiring one unnecessary. Other ecclesiastical lineages remain unidentified: several of the priest-sons belonging to ostensibly learned or lesser landholding kindreds, such as those bearing the names MacEacharna, MacMhaoil-Chaluim, Mac an Fhir-lèighinn and Ó Brolchán, probably formed ecclesiastical lineages of their own.⁹⁵

Other lineages may be identified among the large cohort of illegitimate clergy whose origins remain uncertain. Over two-thirds of this group were

⁸⁹ CSSR, i, 210; v, no. 1018; *CPL*, vii, 378; Fraser, *Montgomerys*, i, 34; ii, 128; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2872, fol. 262r. See Rousseau, "Innocent III and familial relationships", 111. For further probable cases, see *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 38, fol. 397v; see above, p. 149.

⁹⁰ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 19, 22.

⁹¹ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 125–126; CSSR, i, 174, 188; ii, 177–178.

⁹² CSSR, iv, no. 731; *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 17, fol. 178r.

⁹³ CSSR, iv, no. 318; *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 32, fol. 201v.

⁹⁴ *RSS*, vi, no. 311; *CPL*, viii, 468, 470.

⁹⁵ *RMS*, iv, no. 24; *CPL*, xi, 480; *LMMS*, 123–124; *CPL Clement VII*, 83–84; CSSR, ii, 133–134. The only doubtful case is Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna, whose father Iomhar was named as a "cleric with cure" (*curatus clericus*). *Reg. Suppl.*, 64, fol. 141v; *CPL Clement VII*, 189.

the offspring of priests (including three monks) and some almost certainly belonged to ecclesiastical lineages engaged upon a career in the Church. One good example of this is the three fifteenth-century clergy who bore the patronymic of *David* [Gaelic *Daibhidh*] found associated with a succession of cathedral and parochial benefices in the deaneries of Lorn and Morvern. The illegitimate priest-sons Solam mac Dhaibhidh ["Salamon David"], petitioner for the rectories of Kilmore and Kilmallie in 1425, and Beathán mac Dhaibhidh ["Bean David"], precentor of Argyll (1424–1449), were contemporaries and probably the sons of an otherwise unknown priest-father named 'Daibhidh'.⁹⁶ He was presumably the grandfather of Maol-Coluim mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh, dean of Argyll (1470, 1497), who was himself the son of a priest, and who also petitioned for Kilmallie 70 years after Solam (his likely father) had done so.⁹⁷ It is thus possible to make a strong case for the existence of an ecclesiastical lineage stretching back three generations, probably to the late fourteenth century.⁹⁸ There are doubtless several other cases which remain hidden under various patronymics.

What little we know of the remaining illegitimate clergy who are unidentified (43 in total) indicates that they were probably of lower social status. Over two-fifths of them directed their requests for dispensation to the Penitentiary, whose fees for advancing supplications were much lower than those of the Chancery.⁹⁹ Although petitions to the Penitentiary from Argyll were only popular for a short period of 40 years between 1451 and 1489, only five of the supplicants to it bore names associated with the *fine*

⁹⁶ CSSR, ii, 79, 90, 103–104, 116; Appendix A, nos. 308–9, 319. Beathán seems to have acted on Solam's behalf in Rome. Note too "David Davidis", supplicant for the rectory of Uig in Skye in February 1433, and "Cristin Davison", named late dean of Argyll in October 1432. ACSB, 112; CSSR, iii, 260–61; v, no. 335.

⁹⁷ CPL, xii, 743; Appendix A, nos. 416, 424.

⁹⁸ The distinctive forename *Soloman* appears among the "Clan Sholla", an Appin kindred which, according to one tradition, originally lived near Oban, and were barons of Bealach in Salachen Glen, Duror, before the civil wars of the 1640s. A sixteenth-century graveslab inscribed "Sallomonus" lies in the graveyard of Kilbride parish church, where Beathán and Solam mac Dhaibhidh sought collation in 1425. Appendix A, nos. 308–9; LMMS, 140; Angus Matheson, "A Traditional Account of the Appin Murder", TGSJ 35 (1929–30), 343–404, at 399; Surnames, 473.

⁹⁹ Chancery letters were also more visually impressive. Zutshi, "*Inextricabilis curie labyrinthus*", 403, 409–410; McDonald, "Requests of Scottish Clergy", 11. For observable differences in the social status of supplicants to the two Apostolic offices, see McDonald, "Illegitimate Scots", 36–42.

and *daoin'-uaisle* classes who, as a group, clearly favoured the Chancery.¹⁰⁰ A similar trend towards lower social status has been observed amongst contemporary petitioners to the Penitentiary in northern Italy.¹⁰¹ Our group were also marked by lower educational attainments and an obscure career path. Only three had studied at university, and although two of these won positions in the cathedral chapter,¹⁰² it is difficult to trace how many others managed to carve out a career among the beneficed. Ten of those who petitioned the Penitentiary were designated clerks and thus already occupied a lower position in the Church, but only one is actually found associated with a specific benefice.¹⁰³ Indeed, only a third of the clerics in this group ever feature as incumbents and even of these, several were only in possession for a short while or faced accusations of concubinage and hereditary transmission of benefices – misbehaviour closely tied with clerical illegitimacy.¹⁰⁴ Two more had to resign their benefices on account of defect of birth.¹⁰⁵ The overall picture of this uncategorised group of illegitimates is characteristic of those of a slightly lower class: many were on the margins trying to obtain a living, while those in

¹⁰⁰ 11 of the 13 illegitimates in the Chancery records over the same period were of noble or learned background. Two of these are mitigated by the fact that one was seeking a simultaneous dispensation through the Chancery, while the other required absolution for hiding the fact that he was illegitimate when he was ordained. Both were from Clann Chaimbeul: Eoin Caimbeul, son of Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy, and Donnchadh Caimbeul. McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 55; *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 14, fol. 258r; 38, fol. 397v; CSSR, v, no. 1109. The others were John, son of David Lauder; "Eugene Maynagr"; "Christian Poris" [Gille-Chriost mac a'Phrior]; Iain Mac an Deòir; "Donald MacFadiy" [MacPhaidein]; and "Iohannes Laclani Macimirich" [Eoin mac Lachlainn MacMhuirich]. *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 4, fol. 157v, 185v; 10, fol. 250r; 17, fol. 173r, 178r; 32, fol. 201r; see above, p. 169, n. 30.

¹⁰¹ Paolo Ostinelli, "Penitentiary Evidence and Local Archive Material: The Case of Upper Italy (1438–1484)", in Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen and Kirsi Salonen, eds., ... *et usque ad ultimum terrae: The Apostolic Penitentiary in Local Contexts* (Budapest, New York and Rome, 2007), 7–18, at 16.

¹⁰² Namely, Niall mac Ghille-Chriost, prebendary of Kilberry; "Malcolm Johannis" dean of Argyll; "Nicholas Macolini", petitioner for the vicarage of Kilfinan. *CPL Clement VII*, 170; CSSR, iv, no. 218; *Reg. Suppl.*, 78, fol. 106r. There were three other unidentified illegitimate clerics altogether in the chapter, all probably local men: Beathán mac Dhaibhidh, precentor (1424–1449) and Maol-Coluim mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh, for whom see above, p. 182; Gille-Brìghde MacLachlainn, chancellor of Argyll (1424–1452) for whom see above, p. 155, and CSSR, ii, 79, 89.

¹⁰³ *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 21, fol. 190r; CSSR, vi, no. 70.

¹⁰⁴ "Duncan Malcolmi" [Donnchadh mac Mhaoil-Chaluim] is alleged to have inherited the vicarage of Lochgoilhead from his father. Dubhghall mac Ghille-Chriost mhic Labhruinn never held peaceable possession during his two years as rector of Kilmichael. By 21 July 1436 he had resigned the benefice in the *Curia*. Appendix A, nos. 111, 113, 229.

¹⁰⁵ CSSR, iv, 312; *CPL*, viii, 596; *Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v.

possession faced deprivation by rivals of higher social standing and educational standards.

Another bonus of the petitions is that they provide details enabling us to examine the parentage of illegitimate clergy in relation to the benefices they held or aspired to. Although canon law strictly prohibited illegitimates from attaining certain higher ecclesiastical offices, the system of dispensation provided the means to receive benefices, prebends and dignities below the rank of bishop.¹⁰⁶ Generally, there appears to have been no glass ceiling to promotion in the West Highlands and illegitimates often feature in the most senior cathedral positions in the secular Church in Argyll and Sodor, as well as in the recently-founded collegiate church of Kilmun. The bishopric also had its fair share; David Hamilton is a confirmed case,¹⁰⁷ but it is likely that Finlay of Albany and George Lauder were also of illegitimate birth. None of these were locals of the diocese, but Argyll did provide three illegitimates to the bishopric of Sodor, and two of the provosts of Kilmun Collegiate Church. There is little evidence that illegitimacy featured at all as a discriminatory issue in the localities; illegitimates were all collated to senior positions in the Church. This is confirmed by the enduring presence of three generations of MicPhaidein priests in the cathedral offices of Lismore spanning over 125 years.

Nonetheless, it would also be wrong to conclude that such illegitimates simply received higher office because of blood ties. Almost half of the illegitimate clergy serving in the cathedral church were educated at university and doubtless merited their office. Attention should rather be given to the fact that the illegitimate clergy were, by the later fourteenth century, anxious to follow the correct canonical procedure by obtaining a papal dispensation which by now had evidently become necessary in order to pursue a successful career. This was, in fact, another clear indication that the diocesan Church and clergy were fully engaged in the mainstream administration of the Church.

That so many illegitimate sons of priests can be found within the Church is hardly unusual nor without parallel. Kirsi Salonen observed similar patterns in the contemporary Swedish Church where priest-sons also formed the majority of illegitimate clergy. She attributes this to the simple fact that they had fewer opportunities to carve out a secular role in society

¹⁰⁶ Rousseau, "Innocent III and familial relationships", 110–113; Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 20–21.

¹⁰⁷ Hamilton himself fathered a son, James. *TA*, viii, 411.

than illegitimates born of lay parents.¹⁰⁸ Illegitimate sons of lay fathers may have only pursued an ecclesiastical career if they were from a noble or wealthy background and, as second sons, were unlikely to inherit the family estates. This may also be applicable in Argyll where most illegitimate clergy from the *fine* were of lay parentage. However, priest-sons also had few options. Canon law banned them from inheriting their fathers' position but offered them little choice other than to follow in their fathers' footsteps. They might not have been able to inherit the benefice themselves, but they could at least embark upon a clerical career of their own. A basic clerical education could be easily acquired at home by simply following their father's daily occupation so it should not surprise us that many sons seized the opportunity.

Repeated legislation from later medieval provincial and synodal councils demonstrated both the relative failure of the Gregorian reformers to convert the clergy to a celibate life and continued recognition of the link between concubinary clerics and hereditary succession. That illegitimacy was a genuine and continual problem for the Scottish Church is verified by the fourteenth-century synodal statutes of St Andrews and the general statutes of the Provincial Councils of 1549 and 1559 that railed against clerics who kept "wenches or concubines" and illegitimate sons in their homes.¹⁰⁹ Nor was this a purely Scottish phenomenon either, as almost identical legislation against "notorious" priest-fathers and their offspring repeatedly occurs in Spanish and French provincial statutes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Again though, the tendency of such councils to be lenient and impose fines and penance rather than excommunication upon miscreants points to restriction rather than prohibition of the practice.¹¹⁰

The bulk of illegitimate clergy in the diocese of Argyll were fathered by men already associated with service in the Church, and a majority of these were priests who had broken their vows of celibacy to do so. Martin MacGregor has suggested that the disregard shown by clergy towards celibacy derived from their acceptance of Gaelic sexual and marital practices, which included the maintaining of concubines, ultimately led

¹⁰⁸ Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 202–203.

¹⁰⁹ *Statutes*, nos. 143, 171–74, 363–64. There are just three statutes surviving from the fifteenth century, none of which concern clerical behaviour. *Ibid.*, nos. 165–67.

¹¹⁰ K.A. Taglia, "On Account of Scandal . . .": Priests, their Children and the Ecclesiastical Demand for Celibacy", *Florilegium* 14 (1995–96), 57–70, at 61, 63, 65, 68, n. 5; Michelle Armstrong-Partida, "Priestly Marriage: The Tradition of Clerical Concubinage in the Spanish Church", *Viator* 40:2 (2009), 221–253, at 236, 237–245.

to the formation of ecclesiastical lineages.¹¹¹ Was it really so straightforward? Further examination of the nature of the relationship between the parents of priests-sons will provide insight into the extent to which the clergy were immune to or even able to influence the values of their host society.

The key to deducing the likely upbringing of illegitimate priests is to consider the social origins of the mother. Illegitimate priest-sons could be born from relationships with three types of women: married, unmarried and widowed.¹¹² In Europe, over 97% of illegitimate sons of churchmen in major orders who petitioned the Penitentiary were born of unmarried women.¹¹³ This picture was reflected in Argyll, where there is not a single recorded instance of a priest-son born from an adulterous relationship with a married woman. Indeed, every single one of the 55 sons of ordained clergy who went on to pursue an ecclesiastical career was the product of a union between a priest and an unmarried woman. This was also true of Sodor petitioners to the Penitentiary between 1449 and 1472. This contrasted with the situation regarding illegitimate priests born of lay parents, which were occasionally adulterous. It would be dangerous to conclude that priests in Argyll (or Sodor for that matter) disavowed sexual relations with married women as these records only refer to sons who pursued a career in the Church and exclude other possible sons who may have chosen not to enter religious service. Nevertheless, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the overall impression is that priests, while sexually active, typically restricted such activity to unattached women and that they rarely, if ever, indulged in adulterous affairs.

All this provides a fresh perspective for evaluating the contemporary Gaelic poetry which satirised the sexual misadventures of the Highland priesthood. The *Book of the Dean of Lismore* [BDL] contains several anti-clerical compositions from the courtly circle of Clann Chaimbeul in the early sixteenth century; the obscene poem *Eistidh, a lucht an tighe-se* ("Listen, people of this house"), allegedly composed by Iseabail Chaimbeul, Countess of Argyll (d. 1510), praises the rigidity and girth of her personal chaplain's penis;¹¹⁴ while Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Glenorchy composed *a shagairt na hamhsóige* ("Priest with the kept woman/serving

¹¹¹ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 19.

¹¹² Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 200–201.

¹¹³ Salonen and Schmugge, *Well of Grace*, 59.

¹¹⁴ *An leabhar mòr = The great book of Gaelic*, eds. M. Maclean and T. Dorgan (Edinburgh, 2002), 12.

wench”) which satirises a priest more obsessed with satisfying his own sexual desires than his religious faith:

... To seek out a cold, wet one, ..., you would go five miles after it – or five thousand.

If there were theology books in the house next door to you, you would not go to borrow them – part of your evil, this.

Suppose you had in your grasp and at your disposal the warm, sweet-tongued Bible, and a yawning naked crutch – that is the one that would be seized first ...¹¹⁵

The imagery might be graphic, but given that the *BDL* was compiled by a high-ranking priest, it is likely that these poems were intended to be mischievous rather than malicious. Indeed, another satirical poem *Mairg bean nach bí ag aon sagart* (“Woe to the Woman whom no priest possesses”), chronicling “the sexual dues and tithes that the various ecclesiastical grades are imagined as exacting from their flock”, was actually composed by the dean’s brother. Nor was the obscenity unique to the clergy, for elsewhere the same Donnchadh Caimbeul composed an ode to his own penis.¹¹⁶ While it might lampoon the celibacy of the priesthood, it differed little from the obscene imagery and satirical poetry found throughout medieval Europe, where priestly misbehaviour featured alongside courtly love poetry composed by young women bemoaning the loss of prospective husbands to the religious life. Indeed, Iseabail Chaimbeul herself was an exponent.¹¹⁷ That Argyllshire priests largely refrained from such affairs supports the notion that the poetry in *BDL* should be interpreted as being benign rather than hostile or anti-clerical in motivation.¹¹⁸

However, were priests especially promiscuous with multiple female partners or were their relationships more stable and monogamous in

¹¹⁵ “Ar cheann pite fuairfhliche do ... do rachfá fá tuairim-se cóig míle ‘s a mhíle oiread. / Dá mbeith leabhair dhaidhachta san tigh as gearr dod dhoras, d’fhairfaighidh a n-iasachta ní rachta – <fá> cuid ded dhonas. / An Bíoball bláith, bionnghlórdha, dá mbeith agat ‘s ad chomas, is pit fhairsing iomnocha – is í do glacfaidhe ar tosach”. W. Gillies, “The Gaelic Poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (III)”, *SGS* 14, part I (1983), 59–82, at 73–74.

¹¹⁶ See W. Gillies, “Courtly and Satirical Poems in the Book of the Dean of Lismore”, *SS* 21 (1977), 35–53, at 42; Gillies, “The Gaelic Poems of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy”, 71–74. My thanks go to Sim Innes for discussing this with me.

¹¹⁷ *Duanair na Sracaire* = *Songbook of the pillagers: anthology of medieval Gaelic verse to 1600*, eds. W. MacLeod and M. Bateman (Edinburgh, 2007), 286–291; P.H. Cullum, “Learning to Be a Man, Learning to Be a Priest in Late Medieval England”, in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. S. Rees Jones (Turnhout, 2003), 135–153, especially 147. For more on obscene medieval poetry and imagery, see *Medieval Obscenities*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Woodbridge, 2006).

¹¹⁸ MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 16.

nature? Although church reformers always worried about promiscuous clergy, their most serious problem was with priests who cohabited with unmarried women in a concubinary relationship because their offspring frequently served as apprentice clerics training under their fathers at the altar. For reformers this scandalised the community and raised questions as to the moral worth of the priest, but also enabled families to consolidate their control over particular churches at the expense of the religious authorities.¹¹⁹ This concern was reflected in late medieval Scotland where ecclesiastical legislation repeatedly calling for the removal of concubines and their children from their priest-fathers' homes was routinely followed by strictures forbidding priests from bequeathing their benefices as inheritance for their sons, or alienating church property as dowries for their daughters.¹²⁰

These issues of concubinage and dilapidation almost always featured in complaints about clerics in major orders in Argyll who were accused of breaking their oath of celibacy. Actual illegitimate offspring were rarely mentioned, and only one supplication made explicit reference to an incumbent with children: "John Finlari" [*lege* 'Finlaii', thus Eoin mac Fhionnlaigh], perpetual vicar of Kilcalmonell, who on 26 June 1436 stood accused of keeping "for several years as a concubine a certain woman, by whom he has had offspring still alive, and has dilapidated the goods of the said church".¹²¹ The suggestion here that the relationship was of some years in length and had produced children is significant, for it implies that this cleric, while sexually active, was not promiscuous, but was committed to a serious relationship akin to marriage. Again this situation was hardly unique; visitation records from early fourteenth-century Catalonia demonstrate that the vast majority of sexually active clergy were involved in concubinary unions rather than casual affairs.¹²² All the factors which constituted marriage in the medieval mindset are present here: a degree of marital affection as evinced by the length of the relationship; monogamy (in the absence of accusations to the contrary), and finally the intention

¹¹⁹ Taglia, "Priests, Children and Demand for Celibacy", 61, 63–64, 68, n. 5.

¹²⁰ *Statutes*, nos. 18–23, 63, 113–14, 171–72, 174, 261–64.

¹²¹ *CPL*, viii, 597; *CSSR*, iv, no. 306.

¹²² In Girona diocese no less than 79% of clergy accused of clerical incontinence between 1314 and 1343 kept concubines, and 21% engaged in casual sex. Armstrong-Partitda, "Priestly Marriage", 225–233.

to procreate and provide for offspring, demonstrated by the allegation of dilapidation.¹²³

Other petitions were less detailed in their allegations, simply accusing the priest of being a “notorious” concubinary or public fornicator who had dilapidated and alienated the goods of his church.¹²⁴ However, the inclusion of both concubinage and dilapidation together may again point to exclusive, monogamous and quasi-marital relationships, in which the priest used the property of his benefice to support his concubine and perhaps any children they had together.¹²⁵ If the pattern found here amongst those accused of concubinage was reflected by priest-fathers generally, then many of our priest-sons in Argyll were probably raised within a fairly stable, family environment.

This is supported by the presence of several illegitimate siblings amongst our clergy. According to Kirsi Salonen, illegitimate siblings were often the result of long concubinage between a priest and his house-keeper, and although sibling clergy cannot be identified on the basis of patronymic alone, we can be confident of illegitimate priest-sons as siblings in cases where the patronymic or surname matches each other, or where they appear together in entries to the *Curia*.¹²⁶ Although there is just one confirmed example (the aforementioned Beathán and Solam mac Dhaibhidh),¹²⁷ several more probable cases present themselves. The contemporary MicAoidh clerics “Angus Odonis Macay” [Aonghas mac Aoidh MacAoidh] and “Odo son of Odo Macidh” [Aodh mac Aoidh MacAoidh] are another likely example, so too are the priests Alasdair and Donnchadh MacThàmais, named as “Alexandrus” and “Duncanus”, natural sons and heirs of Lachlann MacThàmais, vicar of Inishail, in a charter of 12 September 1543.¹²⁸ “Cristinus Prioris”, supplicant to the Penitentiary

¹²³ M.A. Kelleher, “‘Like man and wife’: clerics’ concubines in the diocese of Barcelona”, *JMH* 28 (2002), 349–360, especially 357–359.

¹²⁴ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 243–244; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 233, 312; v, nos. 592, 1464; *CPL*, viii, 596; xi, 39; xii, 805; xvii, part ii, no. 51.

¹²⁵ This was the accusation against Thomas Tulloch, treasurer of Ross who, according to a supplication in September 1465, “has not blushed to sustain a certain pregnant woman and her offspring”. *CSSR*, v, no. 1036.

¹²⁶ Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 202.

¹²⁷ See above, p. 182. There is a parallel case of sibling petitioners in adjacent Sodor diocese: the brothers “Adam” and “Dominicus Dominici”, both sons of a Benedictine monk-priest of Iona; and who travelled to Rome together in 1421. A probable sister, “Cristina Dominici”, was a nun of Iona convent. *CSSR*, i, 267; ii, 182, 183–184. See also *HP*, iv, n. 1.

¹²⁸ See above, p. 144, n. 171. *RMS*, iii, no. 3132; Appendix A, nos. 219–20, 324, 347, 374, 461.

on 31 July 1472, may have shared the same parentage as “John Fynlaius [*lege* ‘Fynlaid’] Prioris MacPhillib”, vicar of Kilcalmonell (1433–1438), and could perhaps be a younger brother.¹²⁹ The list could go on, but the point to appreciate is that a proportion of our illegitimate priest-sons had siblings serving in the Church. This was a typical characteristic of a lasting, monogamous relationship, and implies that they were raised at their priestly father’s residence, perhaps with the full intention of following in his footsteps. As such, their upbringing bears strong similarities to that of hereditary kindreds in the secular professions, and reinforces the theory that entire families committed themselves to service in the Church upon a hereditary basis.¹³⁰ How representative their circumstances were of the illegitimate clergy as a whole remains unproven, but the surviving evidence suggests that they were certainly not neglected offspring.

It is also worth highlighting that a few illegitimate priest-sons exhibited a tendency to mirror their fathers’ lifestyle by taking concubines and producing sons of their own.¹³¹ The evidence is admittedly scanty in itself, but it is logical to presume that the pattern was shared by many (if not most) other illegitimates who were sons of clergy in major orders. Such practices were plainly a necessity for the establishment of ecclesiastical lineages which were structured according to hereditary principles.

On one level, the allegations of dilapidation and the considerable number of illegitimate priest-sons serving in the diocese of Argyll demonstrates both the sustained failure of the late medieval clergy to adhere to conciliar decrees and of the diocesan authorities to enforce them. Yet any assessment of their behaviour must also show some appreciation of the pressures and difficulties which local communities everywhere placed upon concubinary clerics who raised offspring. The Church’s prohibitions, such as *De Concubinariis* of Basel (1435), directed that concubines and their offspring were not to live with their fathers, but completely ignored the issue of how to provide material welfare for the abandoned child and mother.¹³² This flatly contradicted the general expectation placed upon lay

¹²⁹ Both are registered as the “son of a priest, a monk of the Cistercian Order, and an unmarried woman”. *Penitenzieria Ap., Reg. Matrim. Et Div.*, 20, fol. 253v; *CPL*, viii, 468.

¹³⁰ Thomson, “Learned Orders”, 65–68.

¹³¹ At least four of our eight concubinary clergy were themselves illegitimate sons of priests or of unmarried parents where the father may have subsequently entered major orders. *CPL*, viii, 625; xvii, part ii, no. 51; *LMMS*, 154; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 126, 243; *CSSR*, i, 169, 176; iv, nos. 233, 312.

¹³² Session 20, “Ecumenical Council of Florence and Council of Basel”, in “Ecumenical and General Church Councils”, *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook-law.html [accessed 15 January 2008].

parents, including those who had subsequently gone into the Church, to support their offspring, whether illegitimate or not. It also effectively left the financial burden upon the local community.¹³³ Marie Kelleher's study of contemporary attitudes towards this issue in medieval Spanish society found a widespread belief among the laity that the social obligations the priest had incurred through a concubinary relationship transcended his clerical status. Both families and the wider community expected concubines, and no doubt any offspring, to receive support from the priest, irrespective of whether the relationship was legally valid.¹³⁴ Such ambivalence probably ensured a degree of security for concubinary priests from any action undertaken by disciplinary authorities to root them out from the local community. In a diocese such as Argyll, where ties of kinship were particularly strong, the expectation placed upon priest-fathers to be responsible for their children may have been even greater, especially if the concubine was from a local kindred.¹³⁵ It probably ensured that most locals declined to report on their priests; those that did undoubtedly ran the risk of incurring the wrath of the local patron and wider community.¹³⁶ This helps to explain the great disparity between the number of admissions and the number of accusations, and why some of the accused were reportedly able to hold onto their livings for several years despite their behaviour.¹³⁷ This is supported by the identity of the plaintiffs. They were all native Gaels, which illustrates that the initiative was local in origin and not the result of pressure from outside agencies, but they were also typically younger men in minor orders who were anxious to establish themselves with a living and had little to lose.¹³⁸ Interestingly, most of them were themselves born into a clerical household, which may explain their familiarity and readiness to employ canon law with regard to the issue.¹³⁹ Aside from these few cases, one wonders whether appropriate

¹³³ Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 30–31.

¹³⁴ Kelleher, "Clerics' concubines in Barcelona", 355–356.

¹³⁵ Armstrong-Partitda, "Priestly Marriage", 226–227.

¹³⁶ Brundage, "Medieval church judges sexual offences", 299–303, traces the changes made to the procedural rules regarding allegations of celibacy.

¹³⁷ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 214–215, 243–244; *CPL*, viii, 597; xvii, part II, no. 51.

¹³⁸ Only two of the plaintiffs were priests, five were clerks, and at least two required dispensation for defect of age when making the accusation. Three others were still relatively young men at the time. The only plaintiff who was actually an established, beneficed ecclesiastic was Gille-Brighde Mac a'Phearsain, canon of Argyll.

¹³⁹ Two were sons of priests and unmarried women (Maol-Coluim mac Solaim and "John Bricii" [Eoin mac Ghille-Brighde]). Two more were probably the sons of men in minor orders (Gofraidh mac Ghofraidh mhic Dhonnchaidh; Muireadhach mac Eoin MacDòmhnail Lighiche).

disciplinary action could be seriously entertained at a diocesan level when so many of the archdeacons (the official responsible for oversight) were of illegitimate birth (whether of lay or priestly parentage) or were engaged in concubinary practices themselves.¹⁴⁰

They could hardly be blamed if they did not take the matter seriously, for there was widespread ambivalence across later medieval Christendom, both within and without the Church, with regard to clerical concubinage and dilapidation.¹⁴¹ Chaucer's satirical *Reeve's Tale* sums up the prevailing mood, by approvingly relating the story of a priest who alienates ecclesiastical property as a dowry for his daughter before making his granddaughter his heir:

For Holy Church's goods should be expended / On Holy Church's blood, so well descended, / And holy blood should have what is proper to it / Though Holy Church should be devoured to do it.¹⁴²

Some priests were even encouraged or indeed compelled to take a concubine by local parishioners as means of protecting the other females in the parish. In fifteenth-century Germany, adulterous relationships with married women were viewed as a potential threat to local peace and harmony, and there are several reports of priests who were murdered by jealous husbands. In the later medieval Italian diocese of Cortona meanwhile, parishioners were actually said to prefer concubinary clergy who were more dependable and less likely to pester female parishioners.¹⁴³ The tendency of priests in Argyll to 'marry' unattached women accorded with the general trend for contemporary Scotland as whole, where the overwhelming majority of priest-sons who supplicated the Penitentiary were born to unmarried women.¹⁴⁴ Later efforts by the Provincial Councils

¹⁴⁰ Approximately half of the archdeacons between 1342 and 1560 fitted into one of these categories. For the role of the archdeacon, see Brundage, "Medieval church judges sexual offences", 304–305.

¹⁴¹ Parish, *Clerical Celibacy*, 123–141.

¹⁴² Original Middle English text: "For holy chirches good moot been despended On holy chirches blood, that is descended. Therefore he wolde his holy blood honoure, Though that he holy chirche sholde devoure". Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: Nine Tales and the General Prologue: Authoritative Text Sources and Backgrounds Criticism*, ed. V.A. Kolve and Glending Olsen (London, 1989), 96; Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. N. Coghill (Harmondsworth, 1977), 126; John F. Plummer, "Hooly Chirches Blood: Simony and Patrimony in Chaucer's 'Reeve's Tale'", *The Chaucer Review* 18:1 (1983), 49–60.

¹⁴³ Schimmelpfennig, "*Ex fornicatione nati*", 32; Schmugge, "Cleansing the consciences", 356; Armstrong-Partida, "Priestly Marriage", 222–223 and n. 5.

¹⁴⁴ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 66, 241, found that out of 324 illegitimate priest-sons, 316 were born of unions with unmarried women. See also Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 200–201; Schmugge, "Cleansing the consciences", 359.

of 1549 and 1559 to implement *De Concubinariis* certainly represented a renewed determination to tackle the issue, though this may have been geared towards controlling rather than prohibiting a practice which had become well established in Scotland. The adoption of such an approach is hardly unexpected considering that many of the country's leading churchmen, including Cardinal David Beaton of St Andrews (1537–1546) and his successor John Hamilton (1546–1571), were themselves engaged in concubinary practices.¹⁴⁵ Another prelate, William Gordon, bishop of Aberdeen, who had fathered eight children with his concubine Janet Knowles and used diocesan funds to support them, was in 1559 warned by his chapter to get rid of her, as they could not accept the hypocrisy of counsel and correction of he who will not correct himself.¹⁴⁶

There appears to be no great difference in the number of illegitimate priest-sons between Argyll and wider Christendom. However, the relative dearth of complaints about either illegitimacy or concubinage (mirrored in neighbouring Sodor) may imply a greater degree of acceptability of these acts in West Highland society than was found in Western Europe. This is supported by the social status of some of the concubines. The consensus of continental historians is that the majority of concubines were labelled housekeepers, and this is reflected in Scotland where an episcopal injunction against the dean of Brechin in 1448 commanded that he remove his housekeeper (*focaria*) from his home and desist from co-habiting with her.¹⁴⁷ The term 'housekeeper' certainly implies an individual of lesser status, though it is likely that in reality most were under 60 years old, thus breaking the minimum canonical age for a housekeeper. The only exception to this rule was when the housekeeper was a relation of the priest, but even this was not always a secure deterrent, for a parson of Eye parish church in Lewis, diocese of Sodor, allegedly committed incest with his housekeeper, who was a kinswoman.¹⁴⁸

Although there are examples of concubine/housekeepers in the West Highlands, there is also fragmentary evidence to suggest that several concubines occupied a much higher status.¹⁴⁹ In the early fifteenth century

¹⁴⁵ Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland, David Beaton, c. 1494–1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), 3–42, argues that Beaton, contrary to the debauched individual of later histories, was actually in a long-term, stable and relationship with an unmarried woman.

¹⁴⁶ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding and Maitland Clubs, 1845) 2 vols., i, pp. lxiv; Ryrie, *Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 23.

¹⁴⁷ Parish, *Clerical Celibacy*, 125; *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1856), i, 124; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 311, n. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Delumeau, *Catholicism*, 156; *CSSR*, v, no. 333.

¹⁴⁹ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 67; MacGregor, "Church and culture", 19.

certain “noble abbots” of Iona Abbey, including the notorious ‘Green Abbot’ Finguine (c. 1357–1405), allegedly kept “noble women” as concubines, had offspring by them, and dilapidated the goods of the monastery as dowries for their daughters.¹⁵⁰ The mother of Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul, archdeacon of Argyll, may herself have received a substantial dowry from church property, if it is true that she was the daughter of another local abbot.¹⁵¹ This is in itself insufficient evidence upon which to draw firm conclusions, but it bears strong similarities to the situation in Gaelic Ireland, where female partners chosen by priests were of equal social status and their obits were entered in the annals alongside their fellow nobility.¹⁵² The trend is very clear in the Highlands during the eighteenth century, when most wives of ministers were either daughters of lairds or ministers with landed connections.¹⁵³ Clerical concubinage in the West Highlands may not therefore have been as furtive or clandestine an affair as that with a housekeeper, but actually a much more open practice which was widely recognised in society. As well as sharing all of the same characteristics of concubinage, dilapidation, and offspring as found in Argyll, these allegations also indicate that concubinary clergy, like their secular equivalents, ‘married’ only individuals within their own grade. In so doing they continued to exhibit some consciousness of their secular status in society, although this would still have been greatly inferior to their acute awareness of their own clerical identity.¹⁵⁴

For priest-sons a career in the Church was the easiest and (probably in many cases) the only realistic option they had, for as the offspring of ordained men whose property was owned by the Church, they had no inheritance to fall back upon for their support. Moreover, their chances of deriving an equitable income in another sphere of work are likely to have been considerably worse than their prospects within the profession they had learnt under their father. Given these circumstances, it is not altogether surprising that so many illegitimate priest-sons chose the ecclesiastical path.

Illegitimacy was a key feature of ecclesiastical life in late medieval Argyll, and made a substantial contribution to the demographic of the

¹⁵⁰ *HP*, iv, 156–158; *CSSR*, ii, 139; *LMMS*, 101; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 111.

¹⁵¹ See above, n. 88.

¹⁵² K. Nicholls, *Gaelic Ireland*, 96.

¹⁵³ Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2007), 35.

¹⁵⁴ My thanks go to Michael Haren for this point.

diocesan clergy. The sources which survive are incomplete and skewed in favour of those who petitioned the *Curia*, and some fathers may have postponed reception of major orders until relatively late in their careers. Nevertheless, the figures, such as they are, show that priest-sons formed the largest category of illegitimate clergy, but only constituted just over a tenth of the entire clerical population in the diocese. Based on this Schimmelpfennig's argument that priest-sons saved the Church from collapse still appears rather extreme. This is an especially important point given that this was a diocese in a kin-based society where casual marriage customs and illegitimate priest-sons were probably even more accepted by society at large than elsewhere in Western Europe. Clerical descent was less frequent among the ecclesiastics drawn from the *fine*, the majority of whom were the offspring of lay unions, but it was much more commonplace among those lower down the scale, most necessarily among ecclesiastical lineages, but also among local, lesser landholding kindreds. Together these groups represented a percentage of priest-sons which was disproportionate to their contribution to clerical personnel as a whole. Some ecclesiastical kindreds raised sons for the Church over two or three generations, which was a sure sign that they continued to consider ecclesiastical service a profession which could be passed on hereditarily.

HEREDITARY TRANSMISSION OF BENEFICES

Clerical illegitimacy in Argyll did indeed promote a hereditary priesthood, but were the benefices themselves also considered hereditary? The Church certainly believed that clerical illegitimacy and the hereditary transmission of benefices were intrinsically linked and the historical consensus is that the *defectus natalium* was actually designed to ensure that priest-sons could not receive their father's benefice.¹⁵⁵ In a Gaelic context, Katherine Simms has argued that exclusive family monopolies of an incumbency in a particular parish in late medieval Gaelic Ireland were actually quite rare, though Andrew Barrell maintains that clerical dynasties in the West Highlands did not disappear with the advent of more frequent contact with the papacy and remained fundamental to the local Church.¹⁵⁶ If the

¹⁵⁵ See above, pp. 165–66.

¹⁵⁶ K. Simms, "Frontiers in the Irish Church", 181; Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 45. Simms has been supported by Jefferies's (*Priests and Prelates*, 80) analysis of the sixteenth-century diocese of Armagh *inter Hibernicos*.

link between illegitimacy and hereditary livings is true then we should expect to find numerous examples of benefices which were transmitted from father to son, as well as some evidence for their endurance over time.

Direct filial succession could take two explicit forms in the papal record, either as an accusation against an incumbent who had succeeded his father, or a request for dispensation by a son permitting him to serve in the same ecclesiastical office as his father, known in the Penitentiary as an *ubi pater* ('where the father') dispensation.¹⁵⁷ However, individuals who chose the more expensive option of supplicating the Chancery would, as always, receive the added bonus of a dispensation with reference to their specific benefice. Altogether, out of the 55 or so illegitimate sons of ordained clergy on record in the diocese between 1342 and 1560, there are only six strong cases of direct filial succession that can be traced.¹⁵⁸ Considering the extent of clerical illegitimacy among our churchmen, this seems rather low. The dearth of accusations invites comparison with the dearth of accusations regarding illegitimacy, which as we have seen, grossly under-represents the actual number of illegitimates active in the Church. However, unlike the numerous dispensations for illegitimacy, there were no dispensations issued at all by the Penitentiary or Chancery permitting the direct transmission from father to son. At face value, the papal material provides very little evidence for hereditary transmission of benefices in the diocese.

It is, however, conceivable that some cases of filial succession remain hidden in the petitions because priest-sons decided not to ask for dispensation. It was never a popular route either in Scotland or in Europe, probably because these dispensations were harder to acquire from the

¹⁵⁷ Salonen, *Penitentiary*, 194, 196.

¹⁵⁸ These are as follows: an inscription on the Campbeltown Cross, which states that Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna succeeded his father Iomhar to the rectory of Kilkivan sometime before 1376. *LMMS*, 159. Donnchadh MacThàmais, vicar of Inishail, was probably a son of Lachlann MacThàmais, vicar of Inishail between 1533 and 1545. *Ibid.*, 137–139. See above, p. 177, n. 74. In 1395 Donnchadh mac Mhaoil-Chaluim was alleged to have illegally succeeded his father to the vicarage of Lochgoilhead, while Muiris MacPhaidein was similarly accused with regard to the rectory of Kilmore in 1436. Appendix A, nos. 111, 113, 317, 321. Two further cases are revealed by matching kindred names and patronymics together with instances of *defectus natalium*. In 1498 Dòmhnall mac Niall MacPhàil, rector of Kilmichael, was accused of uncanonical detention of the benefice. His patronymic indicates that he was the son of "Nigel Macfaly" [Niall MacPhàil], the last known incumbent at Kilmichael some 30 years earlier. See above, p. 156; Appendix A, nos. 234, 236. In 1466 Coinneach mac Beatháin sought to hold the rectory of Kilmonivaig, vacant by the death of Beathán, who was doubtless his father. See above, p. 145; Appendix A, nos. 404, 406.

Curia.¹⁵⁹ One method pursued by Scottish supplicants in the sixteenth century was to resign a benefice in favour of another cleric named in the supplication, who was usually another close kinsman. This device, *resignation in favorem*, often ensured succession within a family, but there appears to be no record of its usage to transfer a living from father to son.¹⁶⁰ In England, a form of indirect hereditary transmission was favoured, where an outsider would be 'sandwiched in' for a brief period between father and son.¹⁶¹ In Ireland, illegitimate sons would instead obtain provision by citing the faults of their father, declaring him an unlawful possessor and having his title impugned. It was a neat method of maintaining the hereditary principle while circumventing its proscription by canon law and it was used repeatedly by Irish supplicants.¹⁶²

Nonetheless, there is little evidence that these same practices were popular in Argyll. There is only one definite case of a cleric accused of employing the 'sandwich' method, that of Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein who, after resigning the rectory of Kilmore in 1436, allegedly interposed a fictitious rector, one "John de Arran... a stranger, who did not live in those parts, who never resided at the said church nor even saw it nor took up the fruits".¹⁶³ He held the benefice only briefly before passing it to Gille-Chòmhghain's son, thus disguising the continued practice of the hereditary principle. This is the only actual allegation of such practices taking place, and doubts have been expressed as to its truthfulness,¹⁶⁴ but it does illustrate an awareness of the practice. Something similar may have occurred in the same benefice 40 years earlier after the promotion of the incumbent Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair, to the see of Dunblane in September 1380. He received dispensation to hold it *in commendam* in October 1380, but by October 1394 it was in the hands of his probable son

¹⁵⁹ McDonald, "Papal Penitentiary", 49, 50; Haren, "Social Structures", 214.

¹⁶⁰ In cases of *resignation in favorem* provision was sought for the new holder while the original holder asked to retain all the fruits and right of regress. The original holder also often kept his title of the benefice in question and may have been older and intending to withdraw from some activities. This may explain why Seumas MacGriogair continued to be referred to as dean of Argyll until his death despite the appointment of *Nicholas Caimbeul* to the office before March 1542. *BBT*, 123; *Fasti*, 41; Graham, "Scotland and the Papacy", 301, 306.

¹⁶¹ Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, 55–56.

¹⁶² Haren, "Social Structures", 214–217. However, neglecting to mention the family connection was dangerous, for petitioners were aware that their letters might be challenged as 'subreptitious' on this score. This explains why some deliberately included the information. My thanks go to Michael Haren for this point.

¹⁶³ *CSSR*, iv, nos. 318, 320.

¹⁶⁴ Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 41.

Eoin mac Dhubhghaill “*alias* Clerk”.¹⁶⁵ The supplication of Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill, to win provision to the rectories of Arisaig and Knoydart in 1506 is perhaps another example of circumventing the rules, if he was indeed the son of the late incumbent, Eoin mac Dhubhghaill (1495 × 1506).¹⁶⁶ Beyond these, there are no other suspicious cases which occur. Nonetheless, it is possible that other hostile petitions against incumbents, particularly outsiders, may actually hide private arrangements that ensured the continued practice of the principle of hereditary transmission.

Those Argyll clergy who were actually found engaging in direct succession were all from local kindreds.¹⁶⁷ However, aside from the MicPhaidein clerics at Kilmore, the recognised ecclesiastical kindreds whom one would expect to feature are conspicuous by their absence during the fifteenth century. It is only from the mid-sixteenth century onwards that more familiar kindreds associated with ecclesiastical service are found passing on their livings in greater numbers; Lachlann MacThàmais, vicar of Inishail (1533–1545), was succeeded by his probable son Donnchadh in circa 1545, while in neighbouring Dunkeld diocese Dubhghall MacGriogair succeeded his father Seumas as vicar of Fortingall in either 1532 or 1544.¹⁶⁸ During the post-Reformation period the number of cases of direct transmission, sometimes over several generations, continues to multiply. Naomhán Mac a'Bhiocair, rector of Kilmalieu (1560), was succeeded by his son Eoin; Donnchadh MacLachlainn succeeded his father “Patrick McAn(r)den” [Pàdraig mac an deadhain] in the vicarage of Kilbrandon in 1580; and “John M'Callum [or Malcolm]”, rector of Lochawe (1610–1629),

¹⁶⁵ Appendix A, nos. 313, 315. In a petition for new provision on 4 September 1395 Eoin mac Dhubhghaill “*alias* Clerk” claimed that he had obtained the benefice via an exchange with one John Cornton with his own vicarage of Monzievaird, (modern Crieff) in Dunblane diocese. That he felt the need to obtain papal confirmation at least a year after the exchange took place raises doubts about the length of Cornton's tenancy as well as suspicions of possible connivance. The two bishops who oversaw the transaction were Eoin's likely father Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair and their near kinsman Eoin mac Dhubhghaill, bishop of Argyll. *CPL Clement VII*, 45–46, 49–50; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 46. *Fasti*, 101.

¹⁶⁶ *CPL*, xviii, no. 640; *RSS*, i, no. 1338; *GUS*, PRO 31/9/31, 156, fol. 176r. For their names, see above, p. 143, n. 169.

¹⁶⁷ See above, n. 158. The MicEacharna clerics at Kilkivan were doubtless from the Clann Eacharna of Killellan, while the father and son team of “Malcolm called ‘Maceoguin’” and Donnchadh mac Mhaoil-Chaluim, allegedly successive vicars of Lochgoilhead between 1395 and 1405, perhaps belonged to the MacEòghainn [MacEwan] kindred of Otter. Appendix A, nos. 111, 113, 115, 195–96; *Surnames*, 491.

¹⁶⁸ Appendix A, nos. 346–47; MacGregor, “Fortingall”, 36, 75, n. 4.

was succeeded in the charge by his son Niall in 1633.¹⁶⁹ Yet even in this period their number was still matched by clergy from the territorial nobility, where after 1560 there are cases of direct filial succession among ecclesiastics from Clann Laghmainn of Inneryn at Kilmodan, from Clann Ghill-Eathain at Kilcolmkill in Morvern (on three consecutive occasions), and Clann Chaimbeul at both Kilmartin and the commendatorship of Ardchattan.¹⁷⁰ However, there are similar examples of filial succession in the sixteenth century, including the vicarage of Stewarton in Ayrshire – where George Montgomery, the former vicar of Lochgoilhead, appears to have passed on the vicarage of Stewarton to his illegitimate son Andrew at some point in the 1520s – and the Dunbars in the deanery of Moray, both of which illustrate that this was a national trend and not peculiar to Argyll.¹⁷¹

It is possible that the increasing number of cases of filial succession which appear during the mid-to-late sixteenth century were connected with the declining popularity of supplications to Rome from Argyll. Katherine Simms has argued that the frenetic “Rome-running” engaged in by Gaelic Irish clergy during the Later Middle Ages showed that benefices in Ireland were “fair game” for litigation and contradicts the theory that possession depended simply upon kinship.¹⁷² This could be equally applied to Argyll, where there are also indications from the late 1300s onwards that the increasing influence of papal provisions was exposing local ecclesiastical kindreds to litigation and new competition from clerics outside of the immediate locality for benefices they had probably customarily held. Take, for example, Muireadhach mac Eoin MacGille-Mhìcheil [“Maurice Johannis MacGillemichael”] and his younger kinsman Gill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil [“Celestinus MacGillemichael”] who both tried and failed in their efforts to obtain their local rectory of Kilbodan in

¹⁶⁹ Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 5; AS, ii, no. 382; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation* ed. H. Scott, 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915–81), iv, 8, 91. Iain, in turn could be a kinsman of “Niel Macolm (or Malcolmsen)”, rector or Lochawe between 1570 and 1574. OPS, 2:1, 121.

¹⁷⁰ RMS, v, no. 1997; viii, no. 27; Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 13, 116, viii, 318; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 11. See also I. Thorner, “Bishop Hector Maclean of Knock”, *SWHIHR* 6 (1978), 9–12.

¹⁷¹ Sanderson, *David Beaton*, 34; *Fasti*, 286–87. George Montgomery, who usually appears as rector of Eaglesham, held the vicarage of Stewarton on 1 August 1523 (GD3/1/1/70/1). Andrew appears as vicar on 25 October 1527 and held the benefice until the Reformation (GD3/1/10/24/1; Haws, *Clergy*, 76). See also RSS, ii, no. 4735; Fraser, *Montgomeries*, ii, 45, 61.

¹⁷² Simms, “Frontiers in the Irish Church”, 181 and n. 13.

Benderloch in 1420,¹⁷³ or Maol-Coluim mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh who in 1496 was seeking provision to the rectory of Kilmallie following the futile efforts of his father to win the same benefice 70 years earlier.¹⁷⁴ It is instructive that while his father was one of three clerics to petition for the benefice in that year, Maol-Coluim faced little competition, illustrating that the environment in the fifteenth century was much more competitive, with an excess number of priests and a finite number of livings available. Under such circumstances, it is hardly unsurprising that clergy from ecclesiastical kindreds did not always succeed in their labours and win possession.

It is possible that we have some parallels here with the relationship between the MacGriogair lineage and Fortingall parish church. A fixture in the parish for over 150 years, they served it as vicars only fitfully, although they probably occupied themselves by performing lesser roles connected with the church throughout the period – in his obit Seumas MacGriogair is named as “vicar of Fortingall and *firmarius* [tenant-holder of lands] of the said church”.¹⁷⁵ One may envisage that local ecclesiastics in Argyll performed a similar role, perhaps occupying less wealthy and less sought-after positions, such as curates, parish clerks or lay farmers of church lands, and may have passed these on hereditarily instead. There are numerous examples in late medieval Gaelic Ireland of hereditary succession to the office of *airchinneach* (anglicised as *erenagh*), tenants of church lands, and in this regard one may draw some comparison with the MacDhuinnshléibhe kindred who occupied lands in Lismore upon a hereditary basis.¹⁷⁶

At any rate, the increased exposure to papal justice led clerical dynasties into a new arena in which they had to do battle with more rivals than previously, and in which they had to avoid stressing any notion of inheritance and re-formulate their petitions along meritocratic lines. In some cases this doubtless reduced the likelihood of smooth transmission of the benefice from father to son.

The relative inaccessibility of remedial justice from the ecclesiastical authorities in the sixteenth century compared to the later medieval period may have helped to facilitate the growth of filial succession. Bishops were

¹⁷³ CSSR, i, 174, 188, 214.

¹⁷⁴ *Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v; CSSR, ii, 90, 104.

¹⁷⁵ *BBT*, 123; MacGregor, “Fortingall”, 36, 37, 75, n. 5.

¹⁷⁶ See above, p. 137; Simms, “Frontiers in the Irish Church”, *passim*, and articles cited therein.

supposed to ensure that they did not collate priest-sons to the same benefice as their father, but, in contrast with the fifteenth century, all of the bishops of Argyll between 1525 and 1580 remained unconsecrated.¹⁷⁷ Petitions to Rome were also on the decline during this period. This was no doubt partially attributable to the 1487 papal indult and to the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, both of which increased royal powers of presentation, but we must also recognise that the absence of a local ordinary to enforce papal judgements would be a powerful disincentive to potential litigants. As a consequence of Argyll's *sede vacante* status, the king also held power to present to benefices normally in the gift of the bishop (regalian right).¹⁷⁸ Understandably, his first priorities were ensuring stability and rewarding loyalty – especially in the Argyllshire territories pertaining to the forfeited lordship of the Isles – not the prohibition of hereditary succession to benefices. The inactivity and absence of the natural guardians of canon law in the diocese may have loosened the bonds upon a clerical class already disposed towards clerical families and enabled transmission from father to son to pass by unchecked.

As a rule, the evidence for father-to-son transmission in Argyll seems to evaporate rather quickly. The only enduring case of direct hereditary monopolisation occurring at Kilberry, where members of the Ó Miadhaigh ecclesiastical kindred controlled the prebend throughout the sixteenth century before the Reformation. Here, “Cornelius” or Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh, prebendary of Kilberry from 1498 until his death in 1531, was succeeded by his kinsman Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh, who in turn was succeeded by another “Cornelius” Ó Miadhaigh, who appeared as rector of Kilberry in October 1550 and was still in possession in 1574.¹⁷⁹ The recurrence of the name *Cornelius* (here representing Gaelic *Conchobar*) suggests the possibility that these two were father and son, and is further strengthened by the appearance of the later “Cornelius” as Dean of

¹⁷⁷ Sanderson, *David Beaton*, 34; Fasti, 36–37. There is just one recorded instance of a consecrated bishop, occurring sometime between 1533 and 1538. *St Andrews Formulae*, 1514–1546, ed. G. Donaldson, 2 vols. (Stair Society, 1942), ii, 25.

¹⁷⁸ Barrell, “Royal presentations”, 181, 184–185, 192; J.A.F. Thomson, “Innocent VIII and the Scottish Church”, *IR* 19:1 (1968), 23–31, at 28.

¹⁷⁹ Appendix A, nos. 265, 267–68. Note should also be made of a Scottised form *M'A Mhiadhaigh* in Lorn (*Surnames*, 638). However, the predominant usage of ‘O’ in most late medieval citations of these churchmen may suggest it is dangerous to assume that Ó Miadhaigh and M'A Mhiadhaigh are identical. Martin MacGregor, pers. comm.

Kintyre in 1569, another position which his earlier namesake had held between 1520 and 1531.¹⁸⁰

Indeed, as the Ó Miadhaigh case demonstrates, a more substantial argument can be made for hereditary succession by siblings and other members of the extended family. Gaelic society was not structured solely (or even primarily) upon primogeniture, but upon the wider kin group, wherein family exclusivity of secular title and property would not necessarily take the form of direct transmission from father to son, but could include various members of the kindred.¹⁸¹ This principle governed the staffing of many key positions in the political and professional spheres in the West Highlands, and it is reasonable to suppose that it might have affected the filling of ecclesiastical positions too. Michael Haren has noted that cases of direct filial succession were actually “the tip of the iceberg” in the late medieval Irish Church as far as family monopolisation of an incumbency was concerned.¹⁸² Moreover, in a society where ties of fictive kinship were as important as those of blood, it seems perfectly plausible that fosterage may also have played a part in securing ecclesiastical livings and possibly disguised other instances of family exclusivity.¹⁸³ A true appreciation of the extent to which benefices in Argyll were passed on hereditarily must therefore encompass members of the wider kindred. Based upon this criterion, several kindreds who treated their benefice as exclusive family livings are immediately identifiable.

There are at least eight cases where a cleric who died or resigned his benefice was followed by a sibling or close kinsman. Most tended to be from kindreds local to the parish: the MacAoidh family at Kilchousland, the Scrymgeours at Glassary, the Ó Miadhaigh family at Kilberry, and the MacMhaoil-Chaluim and Carswell families at Kilmartin.¹⁸⁴ However, non-diocesan and non-Gaelic speaking siblings such as the Airhouses (“Arous”) at Kilcalmonell, the Colquhouns at Kilchousland and the Galts at Eilean Munde also held or attempted to hold benefices in Argyll.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, there are multiple other cases of continued family control of benefices throughout Scotland during the early-to-mid sixteenth century, usually through

¹⁸⁰ NAS GD176/98. *Fasti*, 50, mistakenly identifies these as one figure.

¹⁸¹ Sellar, “Celtic Law”, 13–14.

¹⁸² Haren, “Social Structures”, 214.

¹⁸³ See below, p. 228.

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 189; *CSSR*, ii, 188–89; *CPL*, viii, 468. For the other sibling relationships see *AC*, 167–169; Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 13; *RSS*, ii, no. 1095; iii, no. 1965.

¹⁸⁵ *CSSR*, iii, 240; *RSS*, i, no. 1412; v, no. 367. The Colquhouns at Kilchousland were from Glasgow.

the system of resignation and reservation.¹⁸⁶ This again illustrates the dangers of drawing too sharp a distinction between the social mores of the West Highlands and the rest of contemporary Scotland.

A distinction should, nonetheless, be drawn between such cases of inheritance by members of a kin-group and that found more generally at the churches of Kilmartin and Glassary, which were almost always in the possession of individuals belonging to Clann Chaimbeul or the Scrymgeours respectively.¹⁸⁷ These are less cases of inheritance than of territorial kindreds exercising their patronage or local pre-eminence to the benefit of members of their kindred. It bears strong similarities to the pattern of staffing found in the West Highland monasteries where ecclesiastical personnel tended to be drawn from the ranks of the secular kindred which enjoyed political ascendancy within the locality at the time.¹⁸⁸ Clergy drawn from lesser kindreds did not have access to the kind of free patronage which their noble colleagues could expect and appear only intermittently. One notable exception to this rule were the Ó Brolcháin clerics, who occur repeatedly in the church of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre over the course of three centuries as either incumbents or supplicants.¹⁸⁹ In general, however, illegitimate clergy from ecclesiastical and learned kindreds were typically found, not at one specific benefice, but scattered across various churches within a certain locality. For instance, all three generations of the MicPhaidein clergy cannot be pinned down to Kilmore, but they can all be found operating in the offices of the cathedral church of Lismore. It also applied to the MacGille-Mhicheil and the 'mac Dhaibhidh' ecclesiastical lineages, who tended to concentrate upon benefices in Lorn, Lismore and the wider Loch Linnhe region, as well as the clergy of MacPhilib and Ó Miadhaigh descent who can be found operating in the northern parishes in Kintyre and Knapdale at various times.

The evidence of clerical illegitimacy indicates that a significant proportion of the priesthood in Argyll regarded the office as one of a hereditary character. This was, however, hardly overwhelming in its extent, and when placed within a wider context it bears comparison with some of the trends elsewhere in Western Europe. Clerical concubinage was a feature throughout Latin Christendom; its appearance in Argyll was not simply evidence of distinctive "lingering Celtic practices" in the West Highlands,

¹⁸⁶ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 206–207; 171–172, 198–202, 301–309.

¹⁸⁷ See above, pp. 128–29, 130–31.

¹⁸⁸ MacGregor, "Church and culture", 19.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix A, nos. 173, 182–3, 186.

but also of the failure of Gregorian reformists to fully convince the priesthood in Europe to live a celibate life. Despite this, a surprisingly limited number of benefices were themselves affected by hereditary succession during the later medieval period. This was due in part to the emerging influence of the papal system of provisions, which encouraged a far more competitive environment for ecclesiastical employment by equipping clerical rivals who, with suitable local support, could now challenge for and potentially win possession. In this climate it was exceedingly difficult for sons to inherit their father's office without facing litigation. Although there were still ways to circumvent canon law, there is not much evidence that supplicants did so in Argyll. Indeed, perhaps through this route the papacy may be said to have obtained some measure of success in the war against hereditary succession.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Scholarly interest in education and learning in the medieval Highlands has inevitably involved some discussion of clerical education, as churchmen were regarded as the foremost literate class in medieval society. John Bannerman has noted that during the fifteenth century the West Highlands were uniquely endowed with two major avenues of education: training in the native Gaelic Classical tradition at the *sgoil* (school) run by the *aos dána*, or learned orders; or an education in the European academic tradition at one of Scotland's three new universities – St Andrews (1410), Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495) – hitherto available only in England or on the Continent.¹ Appraisals have tended to be positive, not only because of indications that clergy from the *aos dána* embraced the university system, but because of the regularity with which Highland clergy acted as notaries public, legal officials whose powers to document and certify transactions required an excellent knowledge of civil and canon law, as well as Latin.² This chapter investigates the university-educated and classically-trained secular clergy recorded in the diocese of Argyll during a crucial period of change in Scotland's educational provision.

The overall picture of university-educated clergy in the late medieval diocese initially appears impressive, and they feature in a fair sprinkling of continental universities. About 119 of the 419 clergy associated with the secular Church in Argyll between 1342 and 1560 claimed to have obtained degrees or to have been educated to university standard. This seems a fairly decent figure, but it also includes individuals whose supplications for provision to a benefice either failed or whose outcome remains unknown. The removal of this group does not constitute a substantial numerical reduction (11 altogether), but it does incur the loss of clergy with substantial qualifications gained from the Continent. Most were of Lowland origin, although some, such as Eoin MacArtair, “student of Canon and Civil Law [at the University] of Bologna and other universities”, were

¹ Bannerman, “Lordship”, 237.

² J. Bannerman, “Literacy”, *passim*; Meek and Kirk, “John Carswell”, *passim*; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, *passim*.

probably local.³ Overall, just under a third of the beneficed clergy in Argyll received a university education between 1342 and 1560, thereby outstripping its western neighbour Sodor (where the figure was allegedly just 10% between 1300 and 1472).⁴ How this rated in European terms is harder to measure. The proportion of university-educated clergy could vary considerably from diocese to diocese across Europe, and in some of the late medieval German dioceses the number of *graduate* clergy varied between 20% and 50%, while in England the figure could be anything between ten and 20%.⁵ In Argyll, as in most other European dioceses, it is likely that many attended without completing their studies, with only a minority going through the procedure of graduation. Nevertheless, for a rural diocese on the 'savage' western frontiers of Christendom, the proportion of university-educated churchmen in Argyll seems respectable.

Table 9 charts where and when these churchmen are recorded as studying or receiving a degree at university.⁶ It shows an incremental growth during the course of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, followed by an upsurge during the mid-fifteenth century, which parallels the increase in beneficed graduates observed in the dioceses of Norwich and Liège after 1450.⁷ Thereafter, however, there is a marked decline in the period between 1480 and 1520, and again between 1540 and 1560. The period between 1520 and 1540, when the greatest number of churchmen are observable, is a notable exception to the sixteenth-century trend, but is probably the more accurate guide. The slump in the periods 1480–1520 and 1540–1560 is principally due to the poverty of sources, though the decrease from 1480 onwards does also coincide with the declining number of petitions to Rome from Argyll during this period (see table 1). Furthermore, the sharp decline in numbers at the University of Glasgow is

³ CSSR, ii, 140.

⁴ Thomas, "From Rome", 58.

⁵ Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, 81; Lawrence G. Duggan, "The Unresponsiveness of the Late Medieval Church: A Reconsideration", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 9:1 (1978), 3–26, at 24; Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto, 1984), 28, 29.

⁶ Six clerics were registered at more than one university and therefore feature more than once. Appendix B, nos. 15 and 71, 40 and 108, 58 and 100, 77 and 110, 82 and 111, 90 and 112.

⁷ Tanner, *Church in Norwich*, 28–29; Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, "Overqualified for their Jobs? Rural Deans in the Diocese of Liège (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)", in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, eds. Koen Goudriaan, Jaap Van Moolenbroek and Ad Tervoort (Leiden, 2004), 87–111, at 96.

probably attributable to administrative neglect and poor record-keeping at the university during the sixteenth century.⁸ However, it is also the case that Glasgow's attendance figures were damaged by its declining reputation relative to that of St Andrews. An outbreak of plague in 1545, which doubtless exacerbated Glasgow University's predicament, cannot fully explain the complete absence of Argyll clerics throughout the 1540–1560 period.⁹ Pre-Reformation Scotland was fortunate to have a third university, Aberdeen (founded 1495), although it is notable by its absence here, which may be directly attributed to the complete absence of its pre-Reformation matriculation records.¹⁰ The established links between its first principal, Hector Boece (1506–1536), and leading members of Clann Chaimbeul may have encouraged a few Argyll clerics to study there, but Aberdeen University's small size and distance from Argyll made it a less attractive destination for most students than either St Andrews or Glasgow.¹¹

Very few clergy attended English or continental universities, with just nine attending Paris, two at Louvain and Oxford, and just one each at Cologne, Orleans and Bologna. The true figure was undoubtedly higher, not least because there are another eight clergy who received an education at an unidentified institution before the foundation of St Andrews in 1410 and so must have travelled either to England or abroad.¹² Paris, which attracted a fair number of students to the Continent, was the most likely destination, although the possibility of study in Ireland (even though it did not have a university) should not be dismissed entirely.¹³ Nevertheless, Argyll's official total represented a tiny fraction of the total number of Scots present on the Continent: between 1466 and 1500 there were approximately 350 Scots examined for an Arts degree at Paris, while at Cologne there were 348 students registered between 1400 and 1499,

⁸ After November 1509 there are no surviving records at all from the Faculty of Arts for the next 25 years. Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 148–149.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 241; J. Durkan, "The Scottish Universities in the Middle Ages, 1413–1560", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1959), 464, 466–467, 499.

¹⁰ Graduation rolls in Arts are extant from 1600. Durkan, "Scottish Universities", 568; L. MacFarlane, "A Short History of the University of Aberdeen", *Aberdeen University Review* 48 (1979), 1–18, 2, 4, 8.

¹¹ For more on these links see MacGregor, "Fortingall", 68–69, 70–71; N. Royan, "Hector Boece and the question of Veremund", *IR* 52:1 (2001), 42–62, especially 46, n. 18, where the author speculates of at least one case of a lay individual from Clann Chaimbeul who studied at Aberdeen.

¹² Appendix B, nos. 1–8.

¹³ See below, p. 214.

and 342 at Louvain between 1426 and 1527.¹⁴ The majority of these students came from the more populous, east-coast dioceses. At Louvain, for instance, approximately 70% of the 160 Scottish students who attended between 1426 and 1484 belonged to the dioceses of St Andrews, Brechin and Aberdeen.¹⁵ None are identified as belonging to Argyll, but neither are there any from dioceses of Orkney and Sodor, so this was a feature common throughout the north and west of Scotland. Indeed, only 14 of the 160 students at Louvain between 1426 and 1484 are registered with the diocese of Glasgow, and just one with that of Galloway.¹⁶ Accessibility was obviously a decisive issue for study abroad, especially for the universities in the Low Countries. The east-coast dioceses were more heavily represented not only because they were more populous, but also because the extent and regularity of trade and contact with the Low Countries encouraged east-coast students more than their counterparts in western Scotland. There would, in any case, be less requirement for Scots in the west to travel once Bishop William Turnbull had founded the University of Glasgow in 1451.

Although Argyll clerics in England and on the Continent were relatively scarce, when they did travel they tended to make the same choices as their fellow Scots, namely by studying in France and avoiding England. They preferred the University of Paris as a rule but, as with Scots generally, avoided it after it fell under English rule in 1411, favouring Louvain and Cologne instead.¹⁷ Only two clerics are associated with English universities: Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair ["Dougallus Petre de Scotia"] and Finlay of Albany, who each required safe conducts permitting their attendance at Oxford and Oxford or Cambridge respectively in 1364 and 1396.¹⁸ It was the necessity of obtaining such documents which helps to explain why, irrespective of potential ill-treatment, so few bothered going down south.

The upward trend between the mid-fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries reflected the emergence of new opportunities available to students from Argyll during the fifteenth century through the foundation of Scotland's first universities at St Andrews (1410) and Glasgow (1451).

¹⁴ *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 295.

¹⁵ These figures are compiled from the list of clergy in J.H. Baxter, "Scottish Students at Louvain University, 1425–1484", *SHR* 25 (1927–28), 327–344.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 329–344.

¹⁷ Dunlop, "Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century", 16.

¹⁸ Appendix B, nos. 101, 106.

These two institutions respectively taught approximately 30% and 27% of all the university-educated clergy in Argyll's secular Church before the Reformation.¹⁹ It is interesting that St Andrews's contribution was greater than Glasgow's, particularly as Argyll (*Argadia*) was specifically targeted in Glasgow's founding statute of 1452 as belonging to one of the four 'nations' from which the university intended to draw its principal members.²⁰ St Andrews was admittedly founded 41 years earlier, but even in the period after 1451 it still managed to remain competitive; about a third of all university-educated clergy between 1451 and 1560 attended St Andrews, compared with the 43% who chose Glasgow. This might be because of the poor condition of Glasgow University in the first half of the sixteenth century; in 1521 the principal of Glasgow, John Major, described it as "poorly endowed, and not rich in scholars", whilst St Andrews, though not without its own problems, was "of good endowment" and had a higher reputation.²¹ Major's summation is verified by the small number of matriculations in this period, though these sources are not comprehensive.²² However, the identity of Argyll clerics soon reveals that, in reality, many of those who attended St Andrews were either registered with one of the east-coast dioceses or were of probable east-coast origin.

Indeed, only a slight majority of our university-educated, beneficed clergy (approximately 53%) were actually locals from Argyll and the Isles.²³ The remainder were individuals who originated from elsewhere in Scotland, with a large concentration of Lowland churchmen, and a small minority from the rest of the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*. The Lowland clergy tended to go to St Andrews: they constituted approximately 57% of all the Argyll clerics found at St Andrews, and 46% of those that attended Glasgow. Correspondingly, local Argyllshire clerics attended Glasgow rather than St Andrews: they made up over half of all those that attended Glasgow, but just over third of those at St Andrews. It was also the Lowland group who were largely responsible for the decreasing number of matriculations at Glasgow during the 1500s. Whereas Argyllshire clerics continued to attend the institution in the sixteenth century (seven occur between

¹⁹ Ibid., nos. 36–69, and 70–100.

²⁰ *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 6; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 11.

²¹ John Major, *A History of Greater Britain*, ed. A. Constable (SHS, 1892), 28.

²² Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 240–241.

²³ Figures calculated from Appendix B.

1508 and 1537), Lowland clergy, with one exception, cease to feature altogether after 1493.²⁴

Indeed, aside from one instance in 1414, there is little indication that the foundation of St Andrews in 1410 made much impact at all in Argyll, as there are only three examples of local men attending that university throughout the first 85 years of its existence.²⁵ There is an upsurge in the last decade of the fifteenth century, and from 1495 onwards they become more numerous, though their occurrences remain sporadic rather than regular. This, of course, coincides with the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles, although it is probably more logical to attribute it to the Crown's concerns to develop literacy among the nobility: on 13 June 1496 it instituted an Act of Parliament requiring the eldest son of every nobleman to spend three years at the "sculis of art and Jure [law]".²⁶

In sharp contrast with St Andrews, the establishment of the University of Glasgow in 1451 heralded a small-scale educational revolution in Argyll and Sodor, demonstrated by an influx of their clergy as part of the nation of "Rothesay" between the early 1450s and into the 1480s.²⁷ This trend began with David Reid, rector of Dunoon, who matriculated on 27 December 1452, and was soon followed by three Islay clerics on 8 May 1453, two of whom (Donnchadh Ó Brolchán and Maol-Dòmhnach mac Dhòmhnail Mac an Fhir-lèighinn) would later feature as beneficed clerics in Argyll.²⁸ David Reid's kinsman, John Reid, vicar of nearby Dumbarton, matriculated on the same day, to be followed five months later on 25 October by Gill-easbuig ["Archibaldus"] Caimbeul, canon of an unidentified prebend of Argyll.²⁹ Matriculations continued steadily as holders of major benefices at Kilmartin, Lochgoilhead, Kilmorich, Kilmore and Kilmun (provost) all matriculated between 1459 and 1475.³⁰ They were joined by other beneficed clerics in the western *Gàidhealtachd*, including the rectors of Luss

²⁴ Laurence Galt ["Gawit"], incorporated in 1512, and future rector of Eilean Munde, is the only exception. *Glas. Mun.* ii, 126. For sixteenth-century local clerics, see Appendix B, nos. 92–93, 95–98.

²⁵ *St A. Acta*, i, p. cl; Appendix B, nos. 36, 39, 44. A "dominus Duncanus Campbell" also received a Master of Arts degree on 11 April 1431. *St A. Acta*, i, 25, 32.

²⁶ *APS*, ii, 238; MacDougall, *James IV*, 174–175.

²⁷ As well as Argyll and Sodor, the nation of Rothesay included neighbouring Gaelic regions of the Lennox, Galloway and Ireland, as well as English-speaking Ayr. Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 42.

²⁸ Appendix A, nos. 182, 446; Appendix B, nos. 73–75; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 11, 18, n. 74. See also above, p. 94.

²⁹ *Glas. Mun.* ii, 61; AT, charter dated 6 July 1452. Appendix B, no. 76.

³⁰ Appendix B, nos. 78–79, 81, 87.

(diocese of Glasgow) and Kilmore in Sleat (diocese of Sodor) in 1466 and 1474, respectively.³¹ The University of Glasgow seems, therefore, to have been relatively successful in fulfilling its stated goal of recruiting clergy from across the western seaboard, but the programme was not restricted to the beneficed: a “Dowgallus McDougall” matriculated on 24 October 1457, while the feast day of St Crispin and Crispian (25 October) 1464 witnessed the incorporation of a further five apparently Gaelic individuals entitled *de Insulis* (‘of the Isles’), a designation indicative of a Hebridean origin.³²

The immediate popularity of Glasgow University among Gaels invites us to ask whether this upsurge was merely an instantaneous reaction to the availability of an easily-accessible university on the edge of the *Gàidhealtachd*, or if a role may be ascribed to Bishop Turnbull’s lifelong friend, George Lauder, bishop of Argyll.³³ He belonged to a generation of clergy of formidable academic standing, such as Laurence of Lindores and James Kennedy, and remained actively engaged in affairs at St Andrews University long after his graduation.³⁴ Bishop Lauder would have been required to issue licences to beneficed clergy to be absent while they attended university, but there are indications that he actually took an active interest in the foundation. His hand is certainly detectable in the matriculation in 1452 of the rector of Dunoon; this was where Lauder himself was residing at the time and within the year the rector had resigned Dunoon to the bishopric.³⁵ There are also hints that clergy who attended the university were subsequently favoured by the bishop. Two of the Islay clerics who won benefices in Argyll specifically stated that they owed their collation to Bishop Lauder.³⁶ The policy was not limited to local Gaels: the bishop’s kinsman, Sir John Lauder, vicar of Lochgoilhead, matriculated in 1460 and would later be rewarded with the archdeaconry of Argyll.³⁷ Another Lowlander, William Baillie, matriculated at Glasgow

³¹ Ibid., no. 80; *Glas. Mun.* ii, 82.

³² See below, p. 215 and n. 57. None of these men were designated with a benefice upon matriculation.

³³ They shared ties of kinship as well as custodianship of Dunoon Castle. *ER*, v, 456; vi, 48; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 6, 18, n. 38; Durkan, *Turnbull*, 9.

³⁴ *St A. Acta*, i, p. cxlii, 40; Dunlop, *Kennedy*, 268; Appendix B, no. 37.

³⁵ *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 60; *CPL*, xi, 604–5. William Turnbull witnessed the royal charter granting Dunoon parish church to the bishopric of Argyll. *RMS*, ii, no. 3136.

³⁶ See above, p. 210, n. 28.

³⁷ Appendix B, no. 79. He was entitled *dominus* upon incorporation, and is not identical with the “Johannes de Lauedyr” who gained an MA at St Andrews in 1445. *St A. Acta*, i, 47, 62.

in 1468, which is roughly the same period when he was collated to the vicarage of Inverchaolain.³⁸ Many others no doubt matriculated in the hope of ecclesiastical preferment. As table 10 indicates, the number of matriculations of local Argyllshire clerics to Glasgow University between 1440 and 1480 is fairly impressive and shows that a university education was considered highly desirable among beneficed and unbeneficed clergy alike. In addition, the bishop's willingness to grant study licences to beneficed clergy with cure of souls attests to the existence of a surplus of unbeneficed clergy who could exercise the cure in their absence.³⁹

George Lauder's concern to improve the learning of the parochial clergy was wholly in keeping with the spirit of the wider Church and papacy, which formulated constitutions precisely for that end. Although it was principally concerned with ensuring beneficed men became priests and resided at their cure, Gregory X's decree *Licet canon* (1274) included a clause allowing the ordinary to grant a dispensation "for a time and for a reasonable cause".⁴⁰ Bishops exploited this clause to enable clerics to attend university, but it did not provide the means to support them, so Pope Boniface VIII constituted *Cum ex eo* (1298), which permitted the use of parochial revenues to support rectors or vicars who wished to attend university, provided that a well-paid substitute served the cure.⁴¹ It was, however, intended for young clerics who were not yet ordained and who held a single benefice with cure, and was useless for priests engaged in serving the cure or clergy possessing benefices without cure of souls.⁴² Consequently, the licence a cleric received determined whether he could use the revenues of his benefice to support his education. It is impossible to calculate the proportion of the Argyll clergy that received these licences over the course of the period, but several of those who attended Glasgow University during the 1450s and 1460s, such as John Lauder and David Reid, were already registered as priests upon their matriculation and must have received an episcopal licence under the terms of *Licet*

³⁸ Appendix B, no. 82.

³⁹ John R. Shinnars, "University Study Licences and Clerical Education in the Diocese of Norwich, 1325–35", *History of Education Quarterly* 28:3 (1988), 387–410, at 407.

⁴⁰ Canon 13, Second Council of Lyons (1274) in "Ecumenical and General Church Councils", *The Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook-law.html. [accessed 27 February 2010].

⁴¹ Leonard E. Boyle, "The Constitution 'Cum ex eo' of Boniface VIII: Education of Parochial Clergy", *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962), 263–302, at 268.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 263, 272–273.

canon.⁴³ On the other hand, Robert Montgomery, archdeacon of Argyll, probably received his licence under *Cum ex eo*, as in September 1555 he supplicated for dispensation from promotion to major orders while he studied canon law and theology.⁴⁴ The archdeaconry's revenues probably maintained him throughout his time at university. How *Licet canon* clerics supported themselves is unknown, and we are left to speculate that they received some other kind of financial support (possibly from the bishop?) to get them through university.⁴⁵ It is also worth noting that *Licet canon* licences also tended to be of shorter duration than those issued under *Cum ex eo*, which may help explain why numerous late medieval clergy who attended university often failed to stay long enough to complete a baccalaureate degree.⁴⁶

Looking abroad, it is notable that only seven of the 14 beneficed clergy who studied in foreign universities are recognisably local to Argyll.⁴⁷ That local Argyllshire men, who formed the slender majority of university-educated clergy, constituted half of the figure in this category may suggest that they were slightly less likely to travel abroad than their Lowland counterparts. This is further indicated by the narrower range of institutions they attended: Paris was always considered the natural foreign destination for career-minded clerics from the West Highlands. However, the numbers we are dealing with here are extremely small, and there are

⁴³ For licences issued to vicars under the terms of *Licet canon* and *Cum ex eo*, see Boyle, "Cum ex eo", 289–296.

⁴⁴ *Reg. Suppl.* 2865, fol. 20v.

⁴⁵ In c. 1609 George Montgomery, bishop of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher (which also adhered to the system of tripartition or quadripartition of tithes) made the attractive assertion that their rectories were usually bestowed upon students intending to take orders, "towards their maintenance at schoole". However, there are doubts about the accuracy of Montgomery's statement, and it was not even supported by his own survey. See George Montgomery, "The Ancient Estate of the Bishopricks of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher", in *Ordinance survey of the county of Londonderry*, i, Templemore, ed. T.F. Colby (Dublin, 1837), 49–51, at 50; H.A. Jefferies, "Papal Letters and Irish clergy: Clogher before the Reformation", in *History of the Diocese of Clogher*, ed. H.A. Jefferies (Dublin, 2005), 81–107, at 98; H.A. Jefferies, "George Montgomery, first Protestant bishop of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher (1605–10)", in *History of the Diocese of Derry from Earliest Times*, eds. H.A. Jefferies and C. Devlin (Dublin, 2000), 140–166, at 152; H.A. Jefferies, "Bishop George Montgomery's Survey of the Parishes of Derry Diocese: a Complete Text from c. 1609", *Seanchas Ard Mhacha* 17 (1996–97), 44–76, at 76. I am very grateful to Henry Jefferies for discussing this issue with me and for supplying the latter article.

⁴⁶ Shinnars, "University Study Licences", 393.

⁴⁷ "John de Congallis" [Eoin of Cowal], Beathán MacGill-Anndrais, "John Cambron" [Eoin Camshron] (all Paris) and Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair "de Scotia" (Oxford) were all Argyllshire men. Less certainty may be placed against the names of "James Johannis", "John Leche" and "Nicholas Campbell" (all Paris). Appendix B, nos. 101–5, 113–14.

numerous cases where the individual's chosen educational institution remains unknown. Indeed if, as seems clear, university choices were dictated by accessibility, then the short skip across the North Channel to Ireland would have appealed to many.

Although it had no university of its own, native Irish *sgoiltean* ('schools') taught courses in canon and civil law to a level which was, according to Canice Mooney, "considered adequate for promotion to the priesthood and other ecclesiastical offices".⁴⁸ Clerics who were trained in this way described their education in fifteenth-century papal litigation in a variety of forms, usually by stating either that they were currently studying in Ireland "where there was no university", or that they were studying according to the "manner" or "custom of Ireland".⁴⁹ There are no known equivalent references to such study made by clergy in Argyll or Sodor, but it would be foolish to dismiss the possibility. Three West Highland clerics made vague claims to being scholars in canon law, the predominant course in the Irish *sgoil*, and could conceivably have been educated in Ireland.⁵⁰ Again, the numbers are insignificant, though it may have masked a more widespread phenomenon. Certainly, the lack of Irish beneficed clergy in Argyll in no way impinges on the possibility that clerics from the West Highlands may have resided temporarily in Ireland for educational purposes, for practitioners of high Gaelic culture in the learned professions from either side of the Channel circuited the courts of the Gaelic elite and attended schools of learning.⁵¹ Indeed, it is quite plausible that clergy belonging to learned kindreds that maintained contacts with Ireland may have followed their secular counterparts to receive training at one of the *sgoiltean* which taught prospective clerics.

University-educated clergy tended to be drawn, as one would expect, from the upper echelons of their society, with the overwhelming majority from the nobility.⁵² However, a disproportionately large number of these were of Lowland descent. For example, most, if not all, of the Argyll clergy

⁴⁸ Mooney, "The Church in Gaelic Ireland", 25.

⁴⁹ *CPL*, vi, 252, 262; xii, 807; xiii, 345. See D.B. Quinn and K.W. Nicholls, "Ireland in 1534", in *A New History of Ireland, volume three: Early Modern Ireland*, eds. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (Oxford, 1976), 1–38, 27. They suggest that this system was similar to the sixteenth-century Irish schools where young men learnt the *Institutes of Justinian* by rote.

⁵⁰ Mooney, "The Church in Gaelic Ireland", 25; Appendix B, nos. 4–5, 13.

⁵¹ MacGregor, "*The Book of the Dean of Lismore* and Literary Culture", 215; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 83–107. For the lack of Irish clergy, see above, pp. 124–26.

⁵² See above, pp. 139–40.

from the Hamilton, Cunningham and Montgomery kindreds were either in possession of, or in the course of obtaining, a university degree, a pattern which reflected the premium which Western European society placed upon university education as a prerequisite to ecclesiastical preferment and as a qualification for administrative posts in Church and state.⁵³ This also partially explains the remarkable commitment to university learning exhibited by the Scrymgeour clergy of Glassary parish, where seven of the eight clerics on record possessed university degrees.⁵⁴ The fact that all were associated with St Andrews University, in the vicinity of their chief property in Dundee, illustrates that locality was always a major factor.

Clann Chamibeul were comfortably the most prominent of the local nobility; no less than 14 of the 20 clergy who bore their name had received a university education.⁵⁵ Although they are spread throughout the period between 1420 and 1560, most occur from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, which accords with their growing status as earls of Argyll and, from 1470 onwards, lords of Lorn. A similar, albeit less obvious, commitment was exhibited by their predecessors, the MicDubhghaill lords of Lorn. Four university-educated MicDubhghaill clerics occur in the mid-to-late fourteenth century, which roughly coincides with their period as lords of Lorn and patrons of the cathedral see.⁵⁶ Local lords may have used their powers to favour clerical kinsmen with high ecclesiastical positions, but they still ensured that these clergy were adequately equipped to perform their role.

However, representatives from the other major native kindreds fail to match this kind of commitment. The most obvious manifestation of this was Clann Dòmhnail. Although there were, as mentioned earlier, the matriculations of five clerics bearing the characteristic *de Insulis* designation on 25 October 1464, only one of them bore a forename which one would associate with Clann Dòmhnail.⁵⁷ It may be that in this instance

⁵³ Appendix B, nos. 34, 60, 86, 88, 90, 112; Dunlop, "Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century", 13.

⁵⁴ Appendix B, nos. 23, 40–41, 45, 56, 59, 107–8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 11, 14, 44, 53–54, 76, 78, 81, 85, 91, 95–96, 98, 114.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 3, 6, 101. Two more possible later candidates are "Dowgallus McDougall" [Dubhghall MacDubhghaill] and "Eugenuis Dowgall" [Eòghan MacDubhghaill] who matriculated at Glasgow on 25 October 1457 and 1511, respectively. *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 65, 125. The latter is perhaps identifiable with the prior of Ardchattan who is thought to have been deposed in c.1506. *LMMS*, 134–135.

⁵⁷ "Finlay Scot de Insulis, Archibaldus de Insulis, Gilbertus de Insulis, Moricius de Insulis, dominus Macolmus de Insulis". *Glas. Mun.* ii, 65, 66, 68, 70, 73. Of these, *Archibaldus* [Gill-easbuig] is certainly a characteristic Clann Dòmhnail forename. See *ALI*, appendix D,

the scribe intended to refer to their place of origin rather than an actual lineage, perhaps as a means of ascertaining the number of matriculates from the Rothesay nation which the university intended to serve.⁵⁸ In fact, out of all of the beneficed clergy belonging to Clann Dòmhnail and its cadet branches between 1387 and 1556, only two can be positively identified as having received an education to university standard, and only one (Aonghas mac Eoin of the Isles, rector of Kilcolmkill in Morvern) had actually graduated.⁵⁹ Neither of the two fifteenth-century Clann Dòmhnail bishops of Sodor appear to have attended university, although this does not mean they were uneducated.

The same is largely true of beneficed clergy from other prominent territorial kindreds in the lordship of the Isles during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the 17 or so clergy who can be identified as belonging to these kindreds between circa 1376 and 1560, just two, namely Master Niall MacDuibh-shithe, rector of Kilmonivaig (1420), and the Clann Ghill-Eathain cleric “Master John Angus” [Eoin mac Aonghais], rector of Kilcolmkill in Morvern (1560–1580), graduated from university, although Ruairidh MacGhill-Eathain (matriculant at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg in 1534) was also of Argyllshire origin.⁶⁰ Note too, several other unidentified individuals, like “Nigel Cormacii” [Niall mac Chormaig], educated in canon law at Bologna, or “Nigel Colini” [Niall mac Ghille-Colum/Mhaoil-Chaluim/Chailein] and “Nigel Ymar” [Niall mac Ìomhair] – each nobles of unknown origin educated at university who sought and won senior ecclesiastical offices.⁶¹

Nevertheless, while these examples attest to some degree of high educational attainment amongst senior clergy from the leading Hebridean and Argyllshire kindreds within the territory of the lordship of the Isles, they still compare unfavourably with the foremost kindreds of Lorn and Glassary, where even clergy from the more obscure MacGill-Anndrais

p. 303, table 6, no. 2; p. 309, table 6, no. 19. “Gilbertus de Insulis” later occurs on 25 October 1474 when, as rector of “Kilmour” (probably Kilmore in Sleat), he represented the Rothesay nation in the election of William Elphinstone as rector of the University. *Glas. Mun.* ii, 82.

⁵⁸ For interpretation of the *de Insulis* designation see above, p. 130; *LMMS*, 126, 154.

⁵⁹ The other was Eoin mac Aonghais, rector of Ardnamurchan (1428–1433). Appendix B, nos. 13, 20. See also Woodman, “Education and Episcopacy”, 222.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 9, 35. R. Sharpe, “Roderick MacLean’s *Life* of St Columba in Latin Verse (1549)”, *IR* 42:2 (1991), 111–132, at 112; *Fasti*, 266. “John Angus” may be identical with “Johannes Makclayn”, Lic. Arts at St Andrews in 1544–45. *St A. Acta*, ii, 394, 400.

⁶¹ *CSSR*, v, no. 570; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 187; *Reg. Suppl.*, vol. 78, fol. 2v. Note the possibility though that “Nigel Colini” and Niall MacDuibh-shithe were identical. See above, p. 132.

and MacArtair kindreds demonstrated a strong commitment to university education throughout our period.⁶² By the mid-sixteenth century a university education was becoming the norm for increasing numbers of beneficed secular clergy in the parishes around Mid-Argyll. Thus, while approximately 38% of beneficed clergy in Argyll between 1530 and 1560 were educated at university, the vast majority of these graduates were actually clustered around Mid-Argyll – and within the deanery of Glassary the figure was actually an impressive 60%.⁶³ University education may not have been compulsory in mid-sixteenth-century Argyll, but it was already considered highly advantageous for aspiring clerics who hoped to win a benefice in the heartland territories.

One possible explanation for the difference is that the beneficed noble clergy in the lordship of the Isles, secure in their livings under lay patrons, did not face the same severity of competition from university-educated Lowland clergy as their peers in Mid-Argyll and Lorn, and thus felt less need to receive a university education. This theory has been proposed for a similar lack of noble students which occurs elsewhere in fifteenth-century England and continental Europe.⁶⁴ The pattern is particularly obvious in the bishopric of Sodor, where few nominees to the see appear to have acquired university training until the removal of Clann Dòmhnail hegemony in 1493; nine of the ten successive nominees to the see thereafter up to 1560 were university educated, most of whom were external candidates of Argyllshire or Lowland origin.⁶⁵ Here, as in other areas of Clann Dòmhnail lordship, the withdrawal of the security and patronage which they had provided, and the expansion of royal Stewart authority into the territory greatly accentuated the necessity of obtaining university qualifications as a means of winning ecclesiastical preferment or protecting control of ecclesiastical livings. The 1493 forfeiture, together with the education act of 1496, were therefore chiefly responsible for the upsurge in numbers of secular native nobility during the sixteenth century.⁶⁶

⁶² Appendix A, nos. 18, 134, 327, 353, 395, 402; Appendix B, nos. 39, 51, 63, 68, 105; *CSSR*, ii, 140; *St A. Acta*, i, p. cxlvii. The MacGill-Anndrais kindred at least appear to have formerly been of some importance in the early fifteenth century, and perhaps like later learned kindreds, moved into service in the Church as a means of preserving their status in local society. See above, p. 132, n. 108; MacGregor, "Church and culture", 23.

⁶³ This is based upon a reassessment of the conclusions of Meek and Kirk, "John Carswell", 7. For a detailed analysis, see MacDonald, "Church and Clergy", 177–178.

⁶⁴ *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 207.

⁶⁵ Woodman, "Education and Episcopacy", 219–220.

⁶⁶ Appendix B, nos. 115–32; Woodman, "Education and Episcopacy", 224.

There are, altogether, 13 identifiable clergy from ecclesiastical and learned lineages among the university-educated class during the entire period between 1342 and 1560, though only three lineages feature more than once: the MacThàmais, Ó Brolchán and Ó Miadhaigh lineages, which had two representatives each.⁶⁷ The remainder are composed of a smattering of clerics from various other lineages.⁶⁸ Given the small numbers dealt with here, it would be dangerous to reach any definite conclusions, though it is observable that most of the clergy listed here belonged to kindreds primarily known for their service in the Church ahead of any other learned profession or trade that kindred members engaged in; the only real exceptions are the Ó Brolchán kindred (whose members maintained a high profile as stonemasons), the aforementioned “Nigellus Leche”, and Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh, an accomplished surgeon. Most of these students were of sixteenth-century date, with just four occurring in the fifteenth century and only one, “Rogellus” [*lege* ‘Nigellus’] Ó Brolchán, before the foundation of Glasgow University in 1451.⁶⁹ They also clearly favoured the University of Glasgow ahead of St Andrews; just two are registered with the latter, compared with six at the former. Together, this suggests that the bulk of the *aos dána* who attended university came from kindreds already specialising in the ecclesiastical sphere, and that they only really began to embrace the university model of learning once it became available to them locally.

What of the degrees themselves? Table 11 provides a rough guide to the institutions and degree courses of the Argyll clergymen.⁷⁰ The overwhelming majority of beneficed clergy, numbering 86, studied the Arts, though the true total was again undoubtedly much higher; many of the ‘unknowns’ from Glasgow could, for example, be placed here as it was

⁶⁷ Appendix B, nos. 92, 99 (MacThàmais); 12, 74 (Ó Brolchán); 27, 62 (Ó Miadhaigh).

⁶⁸ Ibid., nos. 28, 29, 31, 61, 75, 87, 93. A “Master Nigellus Leche”, vicar of Craignish (1530), was probably a member of the MicLachlainn physicians of Craiginterve. For the omission of “John Leche”, no. 104, see above, p. 153, n. 220.

⁶⁹ Appendix B, no. 12.

⁷⁰ The total number of student clergy and degrees do not match because some students took multiple degrees at multiple universities; students in the higher faculties of Law, Medicine and Theology were required to have attained at least a *baccalarius artium* (B.A.) before they could begin further study, and this has been added to the overall total; such cases are added to the category of Arts students attending an unknown university. The large minority classed as ‘unknown’ represent those clergy titled as ‘master’ for whom there is no corresponding university record. By the fourteenth century ‘master’ was commonly used to denote the level of Bachelor or Licentiate, but Donald Watt states that it simply distinguished clerics who had received university-training from those who had not. Watt, *Graduates*, p. xv.

the only faculty which flourished in our period.⁷¹ The proportion of those who studied canon law, civil law, or both, is considerably lower, but cannot justify the bizarre claim made in two petitions in Autumn 1425 that there was “no supply of lawyers in the diocese of Argyll”.⁷² There was an absolute dearth of students in Medicine, while, aside from arch-deacon Robert Montgomery, the only likely students in Theology occur in the form of three mendicant friars, only one of whom was confirmed as attending university.⁷³ This accords with the picture in neighbouring Sodor where the only theologian found was also an Irish mendicant, Mícheal, the Franciscan bishop of Sodor (1387–1409), who was a Doctor of Theology.⁷⁴ Some of the clergy from Clann Chaimbeul who attended Glasgow University in the later fifteenth century may have also studied theology, as this kindred maintained strong links with the Dominican Blackfriars of Glasgow that taught there, though there is no evidence that they lodged with the order.⁷⁵ The impression one is left with is that recognised theologians were exceptionally rare in the West Highlands and that, when they did appear, it was usually in the form of non-local preachers.⁷⁶

There are probably a variety of reasons for the scarcity of students in higher faculties, but the time and expense involved must have been a major issue. The best teaching was to be found abroad in the continental universities, so Scots who wished to continue their studies often had to consider the extra living expenses this involved; even wealthy noble students from the Lowlands could fall into poverty.⁷⁷ The length of some of these courses also required a considerable commitment to learning; in Paris, for example, a bachelor degree in Theology took four years, while a doctorate took another eight.⁷⁸ The prospect of spending years abroad and the ever present danger of penury undoubtedly dissuaded many from the undertaking.

⁷¹ Elphinstone, who studied canon law at Glasgow, is one isolated exception. Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 233; MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 26–28.

⁷² *CPL*, vii, 406–407, dated 27 August and 28 September 1425. This statement was presumably intended to help secure favourable mandatories to execute the letter.

⁷³ Appendix B, nos. 1, 21, 34, 106.

⁷⁴ He was transferred from the archbishopric of Cashel in 1387. *ALI*, no. 17, appendix C, p. 271; *Fasti*, 263.

⁷⁵ Boardman, *Campbells*, 120, 203, suggests leading members of Clann Chaimbeul lodged at favoured religious houses while on business.

⁷⁶ See below, pp. 249–50.

⁷⁷ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 26–27; Dunlop, “Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century”, 18.

⁷⁸ Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 116.

As regards Medicine, the Gaels of the western *Gàidhealtachd* had access to a native medical tradition that was already the envy of the rest of Scotland. A measure of the widespread respect it received can be observed in the fulsome praise of Hector Boece, principal of Aberdeen University, who when describing the Classical Gaelic of the learned orders, stated:

Besides various other arts which they possess translated into that language, or have inherited from their fathers, they are great students of medicine, and those of them who have gained knowledge of the nature and virtues of the herbs growing there surpass others to no small degree.⁷⁹

These words carry greater weight when one realises that Boece was a Bachelor of Medicine himself.⁸⁰ Gaelic physicians were regularly employed as personal royal doctors of the Scottish kings from the fourteenth century onwards, and featured alongside those trained on the Continent.⁸¹ For example, both William Baillie, vicar of Inverchaolain (1468 × 1472–1484), and Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh, prebendary of Kilberry (1531), were physicians of kings James IV and V respectively, but whereas Baillie obtained a Doctorate in Medicine at Bologna University, Donnchadh, as a member of the *aos dána*, could access the native medical tradition.⁸² Indeed, one wonders whether, on some level, the expertise of the learned physicians may have militated against the earlier introduction of Medicine as a university course in Scotland, which did not occur until the foundation of Aberdeen in 1495.⁸³

A second degree in canon or civil law was considered almost a prerequisite for anyone aspiring to higher offices and dignities within the Church and state of mid-fifteenth century Scotland.⁸⁴ This was also true of Argyll, where most of the two dozen or so canon and civil lawyers were rewarded with key positions in the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy. They often appear serving as bishops and archdeacons,⁸⁵ although lesser

⁷⁹ "Hector Boece's very timely exhortation concerning the ancient and modern customs and manners of the Scots", in Hector Boethius, *Scotorum Historia*, ed. Giovanni Ferrerio (Paris, 1575), trans. D.F. Sutton, The Philological Museum, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/boece> [accessed 6 September 2010].

⁸⁰ Boece was a graduate of Paris, but probably obtained his medical degree at Aberdeen. MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 322.

⁸¹ See Bannerman, *Beatons*, 81–97.

⁸² Appendix B, nos. 27, 111; *TA*, ii, 445; 477; *RSS*, i, no. 3415; Bannerman, "Literacy", 219.

⁸³ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 382–385.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁵ Appendix B, nos. 2, 3, 105 (bishops); 3, 14, 77, 110 (archdeacons of Argyll); 4, 20 (Sodor).

status cathedral offices were also attractive; there were at least eight lawyers in the cathedral chapter of Argyll, three of whom were deans.⁸⁶ Several also performed secular administrative duties: canon lawyers Beathán MacGill-Anndrais and Niall Ó Brolcháin were both secretaries of the lords of the Isles in 1389 and 1426 respectively.⁸⁷ James Wick, who was variously described as “chaplain”, “clerk” and “secretary” of the Lord of the Isles, can probably be identified with “Jacobus Wije de Schotia, Moraviensis diocesis”, who matriculated at the University of Louvain in 1441.⁸⁸ In the light of his subsequent career, he would appear to have studied either canon or, more probably, civil law, for which Louvain was renowned.⁸⁹ Finally, it is likely that “Nigel Colini”, Bachelor of Decrees, also probably served Clann Dòmhnail in some sort of administrative capacity.⁹⁰ In Mid-Argyll, Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe, Licentiate in Decrees, acted as procurator in the divorce action of Sir Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy on 7 May 1449 and was heavily involved in the organisation and foundation of Kilmun Collegiate Church.⁹¹ The presence here of civil (i.e. Roman) and canon lawyers within the inner-circle of the native magnates is interesting given that ‘Celtic law’ was still actively promoted in the West Highlands.⁹² Clann Dòmhnail, in particular, continued to simultaneously patronise Gaelic *brìtheamhan* drawn from the Classical tradition who administered justice within the lordship of the Isles.⁹³ Admittedly, the clerics schooled in Roman civil law only appear employed in non-executive positions

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 10, 16, 105 (deans); 5, 8, 11, 108, 109 (chapter). The last named was James Wick, for further details of whom see below, n. 88.

⁸⁷ *ALI*, appendix B, pp. 239, 240; Appendix B, nos. 12, 105.

⁸⁸ Appendix B no. 109; *ALI*, appendix C, pp. 245–246, 276–277; Woodman, “Education and Episcopacy”, 150. His failure to mention any formal education may raise doubts as to whether this identification is correct, but in the absence of other Moray figures bearing this name and given the duties he performed for the Lord of the Isles, it is a legitimate deduction. See also R.J. Lyall, “Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century”, *IR* 36:2 (1985), 55–73, at 62, for further discussion as to the possibility that he is identifiable with “Jacobus de Schotia”, *dictator* of Louvain during the Winter of 1447–48. For the role of the *dictator*, see *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 127.

⁸⁹ Dunlop, “Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century”, 16.

⁹⁰ Appendix B, no. 7. He was rector of the important church of Kilcolmkill in Morvern between 1408 and 1411, and was supported by Clann Dòmhnail during his efforts to win control of Kilmonivaig parish church. *ALI*, no. 17, p. 253; Appendix A, nos. 399, 432.

⁹¹ *AT*, at date; *RMS*, ii, no. 346; *CSSR*, iv, no. 791; *ACSB*, 129–30; Boardman, *Campbells*, 147–148.

⁹² Sellar “Celtic Law”, 3–4; Bannerman, “The Scots Language and the Kin-based Society”, 13–14.

⁹³ Bannerman, “Lordship”, 227; *ALI*, pp. xlii–lv.

attached to the lordship's household, and there is no evidence that they exercised a judicial function within Clann Dòmhnail territory. Yet it is difficult to believe that their expertise was exclusively employed with legal matters beyond the West Highlands.⁹⁴ Their prominence certainly implies a much more complex legal situation within the lordship than that given by later seventeenth-century historians and adds further support to the view that the more 'peripheral' or 'exotic' Celtic features of the western *Gàidhealtachd* should not be accentuated at the expense of other 'mainstream' characteristics that it shared with the rest of the Scottish kingdom.⁹⁵

It is also interesting to note that, despite the stated shortage of lawyers in the kingdom, almost all of the lawyers with benefices in Argyll who were rewarded with high office in the Lowlands during the fifteenth century were of Lowland origin: men such as James Scrymgeour, John Arous, Patrick Cornton, William Elphinstone and William Baillie were all favoured with high positions in ecclesiastical and royal government.⁹⁶ Despite forming an overall majority of Argyll's lawyers, Argyllshire clerics rarely occupied these roles; Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair, Scholar of Decrees, rector of Kilmore (1371–1380) and future bishop of Dunblane, was the only one promoted to high ecclesiastical office during this period.⁹⁷ There are two explanations for this: either there was already sufficient available employment in the western *Gàidhealtachd* to satisfy demand, or perhaps more plausibly, the shortage of lawyers in the Lowlands was not so serious as to warrant the employment of Scots Gaels.

Although the focus here is upon the secular beneficed clergy, it is worth highlighting the significant numbers of unbeneficed clergy that are also found studying in the various universities, at home and abroad. Mention has been made of Ruairidh MacGhill-Eathain at Wittenberg and Eoin MacArtair at Bologna, but there is a considerable number of students bearing Gaelic names of probable West Highland origin found in the

⁹⁴ Bannerman, "Lordship", 226.

⁹⁵ This theme is convincingly argued in Kingston, *Ulster and the Isles*, chap. 6.

⁹⁶ Appendix B, nos. 70–71, 77, 82, 107, 110. For the reputed lawyer shortage, see MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 18, 38 and *passim* for Elphinstone's career. Scrymgeour was first rector of St Andrews University and papal ambassador of Charles VII of France. *St A. Acta*, i, p. ccxlv; *CSSR*, ii, 93, 113, 116. Arous was secretary to Queen Joan Beaufort on 4 October 1431, while Cornton was chaplain to Isabella, Countess of Lennox, and a founding member of Glasgow University. *CSSR*, iii, 216; Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 9. Baillie was rector of Arts in Bologna and was James IV's personal doctor between 1498 and 1508. *Ibid.*, 173, 178; *RSS*, i, no. 1429; *ADC 1501–1554*, 29; *TA*, ii, 445, 477; iv, 361.

⁹⁷ Appendix A, no. 313; *Fasti*, 101–102.

matriculation lists of St Andrews and Glasgow.⁹⁸ Given the considerable gaps which exist in the parochial *fasti*, there is every possibility that many of these held an ecclesiastical living in the diocese at some point during their careers.

The significant number of Argyllshire clerics who attended university contrasts with the small number of Irish Gaels; recorded instances of Irishmen at universities were generally few and those that occur were usually of Anglo-Norman extraction.⁹⁹ Alexander Scott has suggested that in Gaelic-dominated regions of the north and west of Ireland, attendance at university was perhaps not as essential to the carving out of a successful ecclesiastical career, and that membership of an ecclesiastical kindred could be equally important.¹⁰⁰ This is supported by the small number of Irish clerics that attended Glasgow, but whether it is the sole reason remains doubtful, particularly given the quality of learning in the native Irish schools. The wide disparity between Ireland and Argyll may suggest that schools in the latter were of an inferior standard or, indeed, may not have existed at all.

The number of beneficed clergy performing as notaries public offers another simple method of identifying clergy who had received a formal education. Notaries were appointed by apostolic, imperial or royal authority and paid to record transactions in order to ensure their validity in courts of law.¹⁰¹ All kinds of business could be recorded, but it typically involved the drawing up of instruments of sasine for property transactions or the collation of benefices, as well as contracts, testaments and wills. Notaries required a good grasp of Latin grammar and an acquaintance with canon and civil law, which would necessitate the ability to read and write fairly legibly. They also had to be reliable as their duties included

⁹⁸ Appendix B, nos. 115–32. Another possible Gaelic candidate is “Johannes mecFilla”, who studied at Bologna University in 1398, and was one of only seven Scots recorded as doing so before 1500. R.J. Mitchell, “Scottish Law Students in Italy in the Later Middle Ages”, *Juridical Review* 49 (1937), 19–24, at 21, suggests that the surname was possibly a rendering of *MacFail*, and therefore a variant spelling of *MacPhàil*. For more MacPhàil clergy, see above, p. 156 and n. 231.

⁹⁹ *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 296.

¹⁰⁰ A.B. Scott, “Latin Learning and Literature in Ireland, 1169–1500”, in *A New History of Ireland, volume one: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. D. Ó Cróinín (Oxford, 2005), 934–995, at 938.

¹⁰¹ J. Durkan, “The Early Scottish Notary”, in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, eds. I. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 22–40.

authenticating or transcribing earlier documents, known as transumps, and could often involve reading aloud to a less literate audience.¹⁰²

Altogether, approximately 37 beneficed clergymen operated as notaries, while a further four notaries were priests who, while unconnected to a benefice, are nonetheless registered as belonging to the diocese of Argyll.¹⁰³ Although the earliest Argyll notary appears in 1411, only three date to the period before 1450 and the bulk occur in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is generally reflective of the situation elsewhere in the kingdom, as notaries did not begin to appear in significant numbers until after 1400, an increase which chimes with the foundation of the new universities at St Andrews and Glasgow.¹⁰⁴ The fact that 20 of the 37 Argyll notaries were themselves educated at university may initially suggest that most owed their abilities to a Lowland university education. However, this also means that there is a group of 17 formally-educated Argyll clerics that do not appear in the university records. The records are hardly comprehensive so it is perfectly conceivable that some, if not all, of these 17 did in fact attend university. However, at least six of the clerics who attended university were already operating as notaries *before* they entered university, indicating that some kind of educational provision existed within the host society itself. As regards literary standards, however, the collated evidence of university records and notarial documents demonstrates that a minimum of 35% of all the 354 beneficed clergy in Argyll recorded between 1342 and 1560 were formally-educated, literate men.

The education of those notaries who do not appear in university demands further investigation. Where were they educated? Their origins would suggest that most were educated locally. Strictly speaking, the diocesan designation given in the docquet merely informs us of the diocese where a person's admission as a notary took place, though in most instances it usually conforms to the region of origin implied by the surname or the area of a notary's subsequent activities.¹⁰⁵ The origins of our group of non-university educated notaries shows an unmistakable bias towards Argyll and the wider *Gàidhealtachd*, with only a few of probable Lowland origin. Cathedral grammar and song schools were maintained in

¹⁰² Ibid.; Bannerman, "Literacy", 214–217, 231–235.

¹⁰³ For these, see MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", appendix C, nos. 1–39, 42–43.

¹⁰⁴ Durkan, "Early Scottish Notary", 23. Fifteenth-century notaries constitute about a fifth of the list of pre-Reformation notaries found in *Laing Charters*, 1041–1043, but over a third of those in Argyll.

¹⁰⁵ *James Young Protocol Bk.*, p. vii.

several Highland dioceses and, while there is no evidence of such a school on Lismore, it is logical to assume that one existed here also.¹⁰⁶ Kilmun Collegiate Church would have been required to educate boy choristers in song and perhaps, as in other collegiate foundations, in grammar also. Rural notaries are generally thought to have attended schools in the major cathedral and burgh centres; Dumbarton, Glasgow, Stirling and Perth were all regularly visited by the lords of Clann Chaimbeul and clerics in their retinue and it is conceivable that a substantial proportion of beneficed notaries were educated here.¹⁰⁷ However, closer examination of this group shows that the preponderance of notaries were principally drawn from local ecclesiastical lineages who presumably had access to some training in the native learned tradition from an early age.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, some of the features shared by the learned tradition and the office of notary may have encouraged clerics to take this career path: both placed a premium upon Latinity and the preservation and compilation of manuscripts for archival purposes.¹⁰⁹

The native 'Classical' tradition taught and maintained by the learned orders, the *aos dána*, constituted the other chief avenue of education open to the clergy of Argyll.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, this is an especially difficult aspect of clerical education to trace because the mechanisms by which this knowledge was imparted in Scotland are unknown. In Ireland, the *aos dána* ran native *sgoiltean* in order to train members of their family in their chosen craft or profession, but there is as yet no concrete evidence for the existence of *sgoiltean* anywhere in the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*; even Bannerman's own meticulous study of the MacBeatha medical kindred between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries produced no proof that a *sgoil* ever existed.¹¹¹ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some have

¹⁰⁶ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 152.

¹⁰⁷ J. Durkan, "Education in the Century of the Reformation", in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513–1625*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), 145–168, especially 146–147, 148. For an appendix of all pre-Reformation grammar and song schools see *ibid.*, 168.

¹⁰⁸ MacDonald, "Clergy of Argyll", appendix C, nos. 2, 10, 11, (Mac an Deòir); 15, 35 (MacLachlainn); 26 (MacThàmais); 17, 21 (MacMhaoil-Chaluim); 30, 37 (Mac a'Bhiocair); 16 (MacGriogair).

¹⁰⁹ Durkan, "Early Scottish Notary", 32–33, 35; Bannerman, "MacLachlans of Kilbride", 12–17; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 98–119.

¹¹⁰ Bannerman, "Lordship", 237; Bannerman, "Literacy", 222.

¹¹¹ K. Simms, "Literacy and the Irish bards", in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, ed. H. Pryce (Cambridge, 1998), 238–258, at 242; Bannerman, "Literacy", 229; Bannerman, *Beatons*, *passim*. The only indication of one possible location is a vague statement made in 1543 by John Eldar that he had received some education in Lewis and Skye during his youth. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Iona Club, 1847), 26.

expressed doubts about the significance of the *aos dána* beyond the western seaboard.¹¹² Yet the geographical distribution of the Scottish contents of the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* [BDL] compiled at Fortingall, demonstrates that Classical learning had penetrated deeply into the heart of the lordship of Clann Chaimbeul in Argyll and beyond into Highland Perthshire, though whether this was conveyed via a formalised schooling and was widely available is unresolved.¹¹³ This makes it extremely difficult to judge its scale and distribution throughout the diocese and, consequently, whether it was equally accessible to all of the clergy.

The content of the teaching in Scotland is also a mystery. All that is really known is that Latinity and Classical Common Gaelic formed the core curriculum; it is impossible to know how advanced this instruction actually was or the degree of variation according to profession and locality. For instance, the philosophical knowledge and Latinity imparted to a clerical member of the MacBeatha medical kindred was likely to be far superior to the more elementary schooling that a colleague from the Ó Brolcháin family of stonemasons received.¹¹⁴ These issues must be borne in mind when making any observations of the role of the Classical tradition in educating the clergy.

There are only a few surviving examples demonstrating that beneficed clergy belonging to existing learned kindreds were schooled and continued to practise their hereditary profession. The most obvious manifestation of literacy in the Classical tradition is the *BDL*, chiefly a selection of Gaelic poetry compiled by Seumas MacGriogair, dean of Argyll. However, the only confirmed religious contributor from Argyll was the “Dean of Knoydart”, composer of a Classical Gaelic poem celebrating the execution of Diarmaid Ó Cairbre, the murderer of Aonghas Óg, and who is identifiable as Eoin MacMhuirich, rector of Arisaig and Knoydart (1506–1510).¹¹⁵ There are other more doubtful candidates, such as the satirical poem by *An Pearsún* or “The Parson”, composed presumably by an unidentified, beneficed clergyman, but there is no evidence that he was from Argyll.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Gille-Pàdraig MacLachlainn, author of two poems in *BDL*,

¹¹² McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 65–66, 68–69, 70.

¹¹³ MacGregor, “Fortingall”, *passim*, especially 52–61; MacGregor, “*The Book of the Dean of Lismore* and Literary Culture”, 209, 211; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 29.

¹¹⁴ MacLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 84; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 112; F. Shaw, “Medieval Medico-Philosophical Treatises in the Irish Language”, in *Féil-Sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill*, ed. J. Ryan (1940: Dublin, 1995), 144–157.

¹¹⁵ *BDL*, 96–99; Thomson, “MacMhuirichs”, 287.

¹¹⁶ Gillies, “Satirical Poems”, 39.

one of which dates to between 1513 and 1527, could be a member of the MacLachlainn dynasty of Kilbride, but there is no evidence of any beneficed cleric in the historical record during this period.¹¹⁷ The scholarship of the MacGriogair ecclesiastical lineage at Fortingall is undoubted, and was further exhibited by their Latin and latterly Scots chronicles which, although only surviving in two sixteenth-century compilations, ultimately derived from a common ancestor begun in c. 1390.¹¹⁸ However, it would be dangerous to extrapolate from this that all of the clergy drawn from learned and ecclesiastical lineages were automatically schooled in the Classical tradition. The surviving evidence suggests that very few fifteenth and sixteenth-century clergy in the western seaboard pursued and promoted Classical learning and literacy. However, given that only a small number of learned clergy have been identified, this is hardly surprising.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, there is circumstantial evidence which suggests that education in the Classical tradition may not have been restricted solely to the learned and ecclesiastical classes, but was also found among the nobility. The custom of commissioning poets to compose panegyrics in Classical Common Gaelic for recital in front of a chiefly audience, and the existence of numerous funerary monuments with Latin inscriptions throughout the western seaboard, presupposes a degree of understanding of both languages among the higher nobility and, by extension, their clerical kinsmen.¹²⁰ According to one early eighteenth-century history, Ruairidh MacGhill-Eathain, who belonged to the lay Kingairloch branch of Clann Ghill-Eathain in Morvern, was chosen to become bishop of Sodor because he had been “educated sufficiently in the isles according to the custom of his people”.¹²¹ This source is very late, but it is an example of native education among the clergy belonging to the lay nobility, and it implies a widespread practice. His rival for the see of Sodor, Ruairidh mac Alasdair, dean of Morvern and brother of Eoin Mùideartach, chief of Clann Raghnaill, was one of two commissioners appointed in 1545 by

¹¹⁷ Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 13.

¹¹⁸ MacGregor, “Fortingall”, 36, 60–62.

¹¹⁹ See above, pp. 151–54.

¹²⁰ Bannerman, “Literacy”, 223.

¹²¹ Ibid. The text is “... is in insulis educatus pro more gentis satis habeatur literatus”. *Epistolæ Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariæ, regum Scotorum, eorumq; tutorum & regni gubernatorum; ad imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, civitates, & alios, ab annos 1505, ad annum 1545*, ed. T. Ruddiman, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1722–24), ii, 221. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Gale. University of Glasgow Library. [accessed 2 August 2012].

the Council of the Isles to treat with Henry VIII.¹²² It seems inconceivable that the Council would have entrusted this task to an uneducated person who could not understand English, particularly as they themselves were acutely aware of their own inability to write.¹²³ Indeed, as Isla Woodman has recently argued, it is possible that most, if not all, of the native bishops of Sodor were schooled in the Classical tradition.¹²⁴

Most sons from the greater nobility who were intended for an ecclesiastical career may have been taught from an early age by domestic chaplains in noble service or through fosterage. Foster-children were expected to be educated according to their rank and intended profession. Early Irish law codes suggest that sons destined for the Church were placed in a monastery to receive specialised training and instruction, but examples from Irish annals and Saints' Lives demonstrate that secular churchmen performed this role too.¹²⁵ Although the tradition of fosterage in early modern Gaelic Scotland is strong, there are only a few surviving examples of contracts of fosterage involving Clann Chaimbeul and other West Highland nobility, and none have religious connotations.¹²⁶ However, one might envisage that noble-sons earmarked for a religious career would be fostered by members of a learned or ecclesiastical lineage attached to the mother's kindred or to a branch or client kindred, perhaps located at a nearby church under their patronage or within their lordship.¹²⁷

¹²² See above, p. 140; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 22 vols. (London, 1864–1932), xx, part i, no. 1298.

¹²³ *State Papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. Henry VIII, [State Papers Henry VIII]* 11 vols. (Record Commission, London, 1836) v, part iv, 477, where Dòmhnall Dubh notes that he and his barons "can noch wryte" (in English).

¹²⁴ Woodman, "Education and Episcopacy", 222.

¹²⁵ Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 91; Thomas Owen Clancy, "Diarmait sapientissimus: the career of Diarmait, *dalta* Dairge, Abbot of Iona", *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–04), 215–232, at 217; Peter Parkes, "Celtic Fosterage: Adoptive Kinship and Clientage in Northwest Europe", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48 (2006), 359–395, at 370–371, and n. 27, 372, n. 28. According to a seventeenth-century genealogical history, the parish churches of Glenelg and Kilmore in Skye were founded in the thirteenth century by a nobly-born priest who, as a child, was sent to Beaulieu Priory "to be taught and learned there". *HP*, i, 203.

¹²⁶ Parkes, "Celtic Fosterage", 375–379; Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 80–85; *Cawdor Bk.*, 136. The obligation to provide education is specified in a contract of fosterage in 1580 where the foster-parents of Donnchadh, son of Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy, agreed to sustain their foster-son "at the schools" with reasonable support. It was repeated in a second contract in 1584. *BBT*, 224, 228.

¹²⁷ Traditional histories claim Clann Chaimbeul maintained fosterage ties with the MacMhaoil-Chaluim and MacIosaig kindreds in Kilmartin, and the MacEacharna and MacArtair kindreds during the later medieval period. *HP*, ii, 91, n. 5, 92; *SHS Misc.*, iv, 200–204, 209, 224–226. For Clann Dòmhnail ties, see above, p. 133, n. 116. My thanks go

A premium was probably placed upon those noble-sons who wished to go to university and for which knowledge of Latin had, by the fourteenth century, become necessary if one wished to participate in basic classes on the Continent.¹²⁸ This was probably the case in Scotland also, though one should note that competence in Latin was not a statutory requirement for admission to university; even in the sixteenth century, King's College at Aberdeen University separated students who were sufficiently literate in Latin from those who had little or no experience.¹²⁹

The universal message in the concluding verse of the opening poem in *BDL*: "let there not be in this world one single priest nor layman who has aught by him that is not put in the Song-book",¹³⁰ plainly implies that the late medieval priesthood commonly composed Gaelic poetry, but whether this truly reflects the situation across the whole diocese is doubtful. There is some evidence that this learning was known and practised among the contemporary *daoin-uaisle* or gentlemen class, to which many of the Argyll clergy belonged. For example, Raibeart MacLaghmainn of Ascog in Bute (*floruit* 1477 × 1520) and "Aithbhreac inghean Coirceadail" [Aiffric (now anglicised as *Effie*), daughter of Còrcadail or Torcada(i)l], who probably belonged to the MacCòrcadail kindred of Phantilands in Loch Awe, both managed to acquire an education sufficient for composition in the formal literary language.¹³¹ This may imply that in Mid-Argyll and Cowal at least, schooling in the Classical tradition was accessible to those outside of the immediate poet-patron relationship or who were slightly further down the social strata. It is, however, equally plausible that clerical education and literacy was more restricted to certain pockets in the diocese. Again however, we are hostage to our over-reliance upon the *BDL*. The compilation was inevitably influenced by the world view of its MicGriogair compilers, a lineage who demonstrated a peculiar commitment to literacy in the Scots tongue, but, as clients of the Glenorchy branch of Clann Chaimbeul, they were also influenced by the wider clan lordship.¹³² The

to Thomas Clancy for highlighting the role of fosterage, and to Bronagh Ní Chonaill and Martin MacGregor for discussing the issue with me.

¹²⁸ *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 174, 177.

¹²⁹ Durkan, "Education", 151.

¹³⁰ "Ná biodh annsan domhan-sa do shagart ná do thuathach 'gá bhfuil ní 'na gcomhghar-san nach cuirhear é san Duanair". *BDL*, 4–5.

¹³¹ Aithbhreac's poem *A phaidrín do dhúisg mo dhéar*, ("O rosary that has awakened my tear") was probably composed in c. 1470. *BDL*, 60–65; *Duanaire na sracaire* = *Songbook of the pillagers: anthology of medieval Gaelic verse to 1600*, eds. W. MacLeod and M. Bateman (Edinburgh, 2007), 174–179; Bannerman, "Literacy", 230.

¹³² MacGregor, "Fortingall", 50–61; Bannerman, "Literacy", 216.

same umbrella of influence extended to the case of John Carswell. A non-noble figure who was not a member of an established learned lineage, his seminal *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh*, while composed in Classical Common Gaelic, was explicitly dedicated to the fifth Earl of Argyll.¹³³

In the preface to this text, Carswell complained about the shortage of books in the *Gàidhealtachd*, and although this has been interpreted as referring specifically to Gaelic works, it is also true that surviving religious and liturgical texts in Latin of native provenance are relatively scarce.¹³⁴ There is just one text of a solely religious nature: Egerton MS 2899, a fifteenth-century Latin Psalter known as the ‘Glenorchy Psalter’ that probably originated from one of the monasteries along the western seaboard, and had by the early sixteenth century come into the possession of Cailean Caimbeul, third Lord of Glenorchy (succeeded 1513, d. 1523).¹³⁵ There are no surviving books from a cathedral library, but hints as to their existence occur in an instrument drawn up at an arbitration into the property of the late archdeacon of Argyll, David Cunningham, at Glasgow on 18 May 1509.¹³⁶ During this hearing the judge, Adam Colquhoun, declared that he had taken three books belonging to the late Bishop Raibeart of Argyll (1475–1496) from Dunoon, and had delivered them to Cunningham.¹³⁷ His decision to cede them to the archdeacon rather than the bishop’s own family implies that they were in fact the property of the see of Argyll rather than the bishop’s own private collection. This is further implied by the identity of one of the books, “Decretals”, which refers to a collection

¹³³ Meek, “The Reformation and Gaelic culture”, 42–47.

¹³⁴ Carswell gaelicised his own name as “Seon Carsuel”. *Foirm na n-urrnuidheadh*, ed. R.L. Thomson (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh, 1970), 1, 9, 178; Meek and Kirk, “John Carswell”, 16.

¹³⁵ My thanks go to Sim Innes for alerting me to this source. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1911–1915*, British Museum Department of Manuscripts (London, 1925), 411–413; D. McRoberts, “Addenda to Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books”, *IR* 3:2 (1952), 131–135. Ardochattan Priory appears the most likely candidate; it lay in the heart of the lordship of Lorn, which was granted to the Earl of Argyll in 1470, and in which the Glenorchy kindred were especially active. The priory itself, however, did not come into the direct control of Clann Chaimbeul until 1544, whereas Iona Abbey had done so by 1499. Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 11, 112. Boardman, *Campbells*, 194.

¹³⁶ *Glas. Rent.*, i, no. 367.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* Adam Colquhoun had resigned his rectory of Kilchousland two years earlier. Appendix A, no. 225.

or commentary on canon law, and would have been an essential manual for a cathedral chapter.¹³⁸

Holy Bibles and Missals almost certainly existed in every parish church in the diocese, and some direct proof can be found in incidental references to agreements and bonds of manrent where parties would seal a contract by swearing an oath while touching the “mess buiks” or “haly ewangell”.¹³⁹ For example, the “holy gospels” at Muckairn parish church are referred to in an agreement on 19 December 1355 and “God’s holy gospels” (*sanctus deo evangelus*) appear in another at Kilmun parish church on 27 October 1361.¹⁴⁰ Gospel books also featured in sixteenth-century bonds involving the earls of Argyll and lords of Cawdor in Muckairn and Glassary parishes.¹⁴¹ With the advent of personal chaplains and portable altars in noble retinues, it is possible that the same book was repeatedly used, though the relative proximity of these agreements to the parish churches of Muckairn and Glassary may point to local availability as a factor. They do, regardless, provide concrete support for the belief that such texts were present in every parish church in the diocese.

The vast bulk of the corpus of surviving religious texts from the western seaboard are not works in their own right, but are found mixed together alongside all sorts of secular material in late medieval manuscripts produced by *aos dána*.¹⁴² MS 1467 is known today for its genealogical material, but it is principally a religious manuscript with devotional and homiletic accounts of the Passion of Christ and His apostles, as well as the seven graces of Holy Spirit.¹⁴³ Other texts often included Saints’ Lives, psalters, religious verse, tracts of Sunday observance and treatises on the Commandments, while service books, Latin hymnaries and commentaries

¹³⁸ It could be either Gregory IX’s *Decretals* or Gratian’s *Decretum*, both of which were included in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, the basic legal text of canon law. *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 393. The other two books were not identified.

¹³⁹ J. Wormald, *Lords and men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 70.

¹⁴⁰ *HP*, ii, 142–143; *AT*, at date. Gospels were also sworn upon at agreements made at “Iwon sele” (either Iona or the Isle of Seil) on 8 September 1354 and Dunoon on 31 March 1358. Interestingly, in the former case the oaths were also sworn upon holy relics and vestments (*tactis Dei evangelis ac diversis aliis sanctorum reliquiis et sanctuariis corporalia*). This would strongly imply that it took place in or near a church. *ALI*, no. 5; *AT*, at date.

¹⁴¹ *Cawdor Bk.*, 129, 132; *CPNS*, 288. Further examples occur in Mull, at Lochspelve and Duart on 8 August 1518 and 27 June 1550, respectively. *Cawdor Bk.*, 137–138; *AT*, at date.

¹⁴² D. MacKinnon, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1912), 72–105.

¹⁴³ MacKinnon, *Catalogue*, 72–79.

on canon law formed covers to largely secular manuscripts.¹⁴⁴ These texts demonstrate that interest in ecclesiastical learning and religious theology was not confined to the religious but also to laymen engaged in secular professions. Above all, however, they convey just how close the relationship between the learned clergy and the secular *aos dána* actually was. Indeed, the picture that one derives is one in which clerical and secular education among the learned and noble classes in Argyll were virtually indivisible.

Over a third of the total number of known beneficed clergy in the secular Church of Argyll between 1342 and 1560 were educated at university, the vast majority at the universities of Glasgow and St Andrews. Although local Argyllshire clergy constituted over half of this group, a disproportionately large number were of Lowland origin, which was a reflection of the competitive ecclesiastical environment in the Lowlands where an education at university was considered fundamental to an ecclesiastical career. The evidence does not point to the same degree of commitment to university education across Argyll, but there are strong signs in the mid-sixteenth century of increasing expectations of higher education among kindreds in Mid-Argyll, in particular Clann Chaimbeul. The relatively poor representations from other major kindreds such as Clann Dòmhnail and their client kindreds during the fifteenth century was probably a reflection of the strength and security of lay control over its churches in the diocese rather than disinterest in clerical education and learning. Moreover, the evidence of notaries and of surviving verse in the *BDL* indicates that the university model of education, although widely regarded as *the* educational institution of the Later Middle Ages, was not the only means of education accessible to West Highland clergy: they could also access schools in the burghs as well as the native Classical tradition taught by the *aos dána*, both of which were of sufficient standard to prepare for university life. Although there are indications to suggest that the Classical tradition was not restricted to the few clerical members of the *aos dána* that occur in Argyll, the surviving evidence is simply too fragmentary to permit a definitive judgment of its importance in the education of the clergy.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 79–105; MacGregor, “Church and culture”, 31–32. MacGregor, “MS 1467”, 131.

CHAPTER SIX

PLURALISM, NON-RESIDENCY AND PASTORAL CARE

Supervision of clerical conduct was the responsibility of the bishop and archdeacon, and the absence of an episcopal register of Argyll means that the two major records for assessing absenteeism – episcopal visitations and licences – do not exist.¹ Determining the precise extent of absenteeism in late medieval Argyll, and indeed in Scotland more generally, is therefore virtually impossible, though exploration of other avenues can provide some insights. There are a few known cases of non-residency, but the simplest method is to examine the number of accusations and dispensations to hold benefices in plurality found amongst the Argyll clergy in the papal supplications. Pluralism is the term applied to the practice whereby a single individual cleric maintained possession of several benefices simultaneously and, together with the annexation of parochial tithes to religious houses, it is traditionally regarded as one of the worst abuses of the late medieval Church in Scotland. It broke the ideal paradigm of one priest serving one benefice and automatically meant that the cleric involved was incapable of residing and serving at least one of the benefices which he held. While discussion has tended to be fixated upon the ‘corrupt’ Church of the sixteenth century and the immediate Reformation period, some ecclesiastical scholars have sought to understand the growth of pluralism within the context of the changing economic landscape of the period, the obligations of the Church in society and the personal merits of the clerics who enjoyed holding multiple benefices at the same time.² Without straying too far into these debates, this chapter seeks to

¹ Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, 57.

² For instance, Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 12–16; D.E. Easson, “The Clergy of a Medieval Scottish Parish”, *RSCHS* 7 (1941), 191–203; J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed*, 17–18. The exceptions are L. MacFarlane, “Was the Scottish Church reformable by 1513?”, in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408–1929*, ed. N. MacDougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 23–43; Barrell, *Papacy*, 241–243; A.D.M. Barrell, “Abuse or Expediency? Pluralism and Non-residence in Northern England in the Late Middle Ages”, in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700*, eds. J.C. Appleby and P. Dalton (Stroud, 1997), 117–130; D. Lepine, “‘Loose Canons’: The Mobility of the Higher Clergy in the Later Middle Ages”, in *Freedom of Movement in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Horden (Donington, 2007), 104–122. Ryrie, *Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 13–22, provides a more inclusive approach.

explore the quality of pastoral care and to what extent it was affected by national trends in clerical behaviour as well as by the distinctive demands of Argyll's society and environment.

Aside from a handful of references to non-residency, the most useful guide to the extent of absenteeism is the numerous instances of pluralism where clergymen held two or more benefices simultaneously. Although there are inherent inconsistencies in the papal material – the issuing of papal licences depended upon the nature of the benefice in question and the status of the individual involved – it nevertheless represents the only means of assessing pluralism in the diocese.³

Just over half of Argyll's ecclesiastical benefices and about two thirds of its parish churches experienced pluralism at one time or another between 1342 and 1560.⁴ There were, altogether, about 64 identifiable cases of clergymen who possessed other benefices *within* their term of incumbency in Argyll.⁵ However, because the surviving evidence is so fragmentary, one must also consider various probable or possible cases where beneficed clergymen appear holding other benefices slightly before or after their recorded appearance in an Argyll benefice.⁶ Some only appear fleetingly as supplicants for dispensation to hold an additional benefice while others may have simply transferred from one benefice to another without gaining pluralist possession, often because the Papal Chancery ordered them to resign their current benefice upon their successful acquisition of a new living.⁷ In addition, there were no less than 15 clerics who requested a papal licence to hold multiple unidentified benefices, and for which the outcome remains unknown (and such a grace does not necessarily *prove*

³ Barrell, "Pluralism and Non-residence", 118–119.

⁴ This figure is derived from 66 rectories/prebends and vicarages, four cathedral dignitaries, the bishopric, the archdeacons, the provost of Kilmun, and ten chaplaincies and curacies. There are also a further seven benefices which may have also been held by pluralists.

⁵ This figure includes incumbents in the papal registers who requested licence to hold more than one benefice (excluding those petitions where the combination of the same person and benefice(s) is repeated more than once), six who were accused of having done so without dispensation, and four who made requests to hold benefices in union *ad vitam*.

⁶ Gill-easbuig MacIllebhàth, vicar of Killeen (1543–1545), was presented to five other benefices in Sodor between 1542 and 1549, and in April 1550 petitioned for the rectory of Killintag. While the surviving records do not prove pluralist possession, the preponderance of evidence would suggest it was likely during one of these incumbencies. *RSS*, i, no. 4566; iii, nos. 2164, 2370; iv, nos. 28, 1431; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2704, fol. 203r.

⁷ There are 22 such cases of resignation or transfer.

pluralism).⁸ Given these inherent problems, a numerical analysis is possibly of debatable value and could be potentially misleading. However, subject to these caveats, if one is to give a figure based on the available evidence, then roughly anything between two or three of every ten beneficed churchmen recorded in Argyll between 1342 and 1560 were likely to be pluralists. A tentative comparison may be made with the extent of non-residency in England where Peter Heath also found that certain churches were more affected by absenteeism than others and suggested that about one in four benefices at any one time were affected by absentees.⁹ The surviving evidence would indicate that pluralists constituted a substantial, though not overwhelming, proportion of the clergy in Argyll.

Parishioners were only affected by pluralism when the incumbent held more than one benefice with *cura animarum*, and certainly not all these clergy did so. The papal bull *Execrabilis* (1317) distinguished between benefices with *cura animarum* from those which did not entail serving the cure. Technically, a cleric could hold one benefice with *cura animarum* with any number of benefices without *cura animarum*, because they did not preclude from residing and serving the cure.¹⁰ Vicarages were normally only created when the rectorship had been appropriated to support a religious institution and where they occur, can usually be identified as the parochial benefice entailing *cura animarum*. However, determining pluralism's impact upon the quality of pastoral provision in Argyll is complicated by the remarkable number of unappropriated parish churches possessed of both rectors and vicars. At least 17 of Argyll's parish churches are recorded as possessing vicarages while they were still free parsonages at some point during the later medieval period.¹¹ The existence of these vicarages, which accounted for approximately half of those recorded in the diocese, encouraged some supplicants to request to hold free parsonages

⁸ My thanks to Andrew Barrell for clarifying this point. This excludes two unbeneficed clergymen who supplicated for dispensation. There are also another 20 unsuccessful requests for papal dispensation, seven from unbeneficed clergymen.

⁹ Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, 57.

¹⁰ Barrell, *Papacy*, 241. This is an important distinction as some clerics, such as James Rolland, parson of Balquhiddy, seem to have been unjustly accused. John R. Todd, "Pre-Reformation Cure of Souls in Dunblane Diocese", *IR* 26:1 (1975), 27–42, at 29.

¹¹ They include Glassary, Kilfinan, Inverchaolain, Lochgoilhead, Kilmartin and Craignish in Cowal and Mid-Argyll; Kilcolmkill, Kilkivan and Kilmichael in Kintyre; Kilchattan, Kilmore, Lochawe, Glenorchy and Eilean Munde in Lorn; and Kilmonivaig, Kilmallie and Kilcolmkill in the deanery of Morvern.

in plurality because the cure was exercised by a perpetual vicar.¹² Yet it is also evident that some free rectories in Argyll were not sinecures at all, but had pastoral responsibilities. In 1454 the rector of Kilmichael was accused of failing to exercise the cure, despite the presence of a perpetual vicar in 1395. Fifteenth-century vicars were also present at Kilcolmkill in Morvern, Kilmallie and Kilmonivaig where the incumbent rectors still acknowledged or were accused of failing to have themselves ordained within a year of obtaining their office, thereby implicitly recognising they had pastoral responsibilities, for the requirement for ordination only applied to benefices with *cura animarum*.¹³ This is also supported by an assertion made in 1423 that almost no benefices were compatible with the rectory of Kilmelfort, because “almost all are parish churches, or otherwise have cure”.¹⁴ Thus, regardless of the recorded presence of vicars at these churches during the fifteenth century, some, if not all, rectories had pastoral responsibilities.

Unfortunately, these doubts surrounding the rectors’ pastoral role make it virtually impossible to determine the extent to which benefices with *cura animarum* were affected by pluralism. A limited survey of vicarages and other benefices entailing the *cura animarum* is too small to be of any value, and is compounded by the fragmentary evidence of parochial organisation, especially regarding the churches in the north-west where the existence of vicarages is doubtful and where the rectors of Ardnamurchan and Knoydart were expected to celebrate mass.¹⁵ However, further exploration of the clergy, the benefices involved and the justifications given for pluralism can offer some insights into the condition of the parochial church.

Andrew Barrell suggests that absenteeism in the West Highlands was less prevalent than in Lowland areas, and predominantly limited to Lowland ecclesiastics with administrative positions in Lowland government or

¹² Kilmore (*HP*, iv, 137–138); Kilmonivaig (*CPP*, 573); Kilcolmkill in Morvern (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 187); Glassary (*CSSR*, i, 258–259); Kilmallie (*CSSR*, iii, 166).

¹³ *CSSR*, ii, 121, 132, 134, 136; iii, 166; v, nos. 541, 1127; see below, p. 257.

¹⁴ *CSSR*, ii, 8.

¹⁵ See below, pp. 241–42. No vicars are recorded at the parish churches of Killintag, Ardnamurchan, Eilean Fhionain, Arisaig, Knoydart or Glenelg. In the mid-sixteenth century a couple of royal presentations were made to the “rectory and vicarage” of Killintag and Knoydart, but it is unclear whether this should be interpreted as meaning a separate vicarage ordinarily existed, or that the rectory entailed the *cura animarum*. Appendix A, nos. 452, 483, 484.

richer benefices situated in the Lowlands.¹⁶ Certainly, the relatively small number of supplications regarding absenteeism and the ethnicity of the defendants would seem initially to support this notion. There are, aside from Bishop Lauder's request to reside outside the diocese in April 1462,¹⁷ another four surviving cases of non-residency, all occurring between 1450 and 1470, and at least three of these were accusations made against Lowland incumbents by Gaelic clergy. In June 1450 "Cornelius Cornelii" described Patrick Cornton as a "foreigner" who could not understand Gaelic and who was absent from his vicarage of Kilcalmonell; in 1466 Dean Robert Muir was accused of defect of dialect and not making "perpetual residence" on Lismore, while in November 1470 Maol-Colum mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh accused Robert Fowler, parson of Kilcolmkill in Morvern, of failing to reside.¹⁸ Most cases of pluralism, which are largely of sixteenth-century date, tend to reinforce this impression. They include the likes of James Haswell, who was already chaplain of St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle when appointed to the rectory of Kilblane in 1527, and James Walker who, as rector of Killintag, was appointed to the vicarage of Stevenston in Glasgow diocese on 26 November 1526, a benefice he still held over 20 years later.¹⁹ James Scrymgeour's prebend of Glassary (1500–1533) did not entail the *cura animarum*, but he possessed several vicarages elsewhere in St Andrews, Moray and Aberdeen dioceses which would require residency.²⁰ George Scott, chaplain of Our Lady in Wellgate in 1551, was probably chaplain of St James altar in Dundee parish

¹⁶ Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 42. "Malcolmus Johannis" could be a Gael, however.

¹⁷ CSSR, v, no. 903. For more, see above, pp. 80, 94–95.

¹⁸ "Malcolmus Johannis", rector of Kilmichael in Kintyre, was accused by one "Nigel Bricii" [Niall mac Ghille-Brighde] of neglecting to reside and "exercise the cure of parishioners" in July 1454, but his ethnicity is unknown. CSSR, v, nos. 354, 541, 1126, 1464; CPL, x, 493, 706; xii, 805.

¹⁹ Haswell was chaplain between December 1509 and January 1529. RSS, i, nos. 1966 (incorrectly given as St Catherine's chapel), 4045. He was also presented to the vicarage of Cramond in 1514. Ibid., no. 2571. Walker was also vicar of Kilmodan in 1545, but there is no record of continued possession beyond this date. He still possessed Stevenston in June 1554 and was also rector of Inchcailloch on Loch Lomond in 1556. Appendix A, no. 65; RSS, iii, no. 3031; GD 1/26/10, GD 148/85.

²⁰ Including Newtyle (1520), Aberchirder (1525, apparently unsuccessfully) and Kinerny (1527), interspersed with the resignation of the vicarage of Inverkeillor in May 1524. *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc: Registrum Abbatie de Aberbrothoc*, eds. C. Innes and P. Chalmers, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1848–56), i, nos. 556, 580, 615, 635, 679.

church before he was appointed to the vicarage of Glassary in July 1559, though which of these he personally served (if any) is unknown.²¹

There is, however, a danger of painting too black and white a picture. Bishop Lauder exercised his jurisdiction over Argyll during the 1460s and 1470s, and Dean Muir presumably assigned the cure on Lismore to a substitute, doubtless with episcopal approval. Non-residency was just one of a number of charges made against these incumbents, which indicates that the plaintiff himself was not entirely confident of their accuracy or provability. Indeed, the Gaelic clergy who accused or later succeeded these Lowlanders were themselves supplicating to hold benefices in plurality and thereby become absenteeists.²² The sixteenth-century MicGriogair clerics who were dean and chancellor of Argyll were probably non-resident too.²³ That Gaelic ecclesiastics tended not to face accusations of non-residency is perhaps illustrative of the greater vulnerability of Lowland clerics in the service of the bishop and the local noble support which Gaelic clerics could rely upon, rather than as a true measurement of the scale of non-residency in the diocese. Lowland clergy probably predominated as pluralists because they are better documented than those of the clergy from Argyll and the West Highlands, who rarely possessed Lowland livings, though the ecclesiastical careers of Muireadhach mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill, Aonghas mac Aonghais of the Isles, Donnchadh MacGriogair or Ruairidh mac Alasdair provide some salutary examples of pluralism in a Gaelic context.²⁴

Further indirect evidence of non-residency is implied by some Gaelic supplicants who occasionally attached the phrase "to a non-resident" in their annual valuations of benefices in the early fifteenth-century.²⁵ It is unclear whether this implied that the incumbent or supplicant was in reality an absentee or that he intended to be so, though the usage of such terminology by the incumbent vicar of Kilfinan in the valuation

²¹ Appendix A, no. 23; Scott was named late chaplain of St James on 20 August 1563. GD137/3878, 137/3887. See also R.W. Munro, and Jean Munro, *The Scrimgeours and their Chiefs: Scotland's Royal Banner Bearers* (Edinburgh, 1980), 22.

²² CSSR, v, nos. 307, 1126, 1464; CPL, x, 547–548. See also CSSR, iv, no. 828 for a local example in Sodor.

²³ See above, p. 79.

²⁴ Appendix A, nos. 187–88, 256, 460, 465, 473, 482. MacGriogair was vicar of Kilmorich (1475) while chaplain of St Patrick's chapel in Dumbarton (1473–1503). Appendix A, no. 132; MacGregor, "MacGregors", 109.

²⁵ For example, CPL *Benedict XIII*, 214, 243–244.

of his own annual income, suggests that it was formulaic.²⁶ The fashion for these clauses disappears altogether after 1420, but they illustrate that absenteeism was an institutionalised feature of the parochial structure in Argyll well before the influx of Lowland clergy into the diocese. Most non-resident incumbents, regardless of ethnicity, were probably occasional or regular visitors to their church and certainly would have maintained an interest in the affairs connected to their office.

Absenteeism on educational grounds was permissible through Boniface VIII's constitution *Cum ex eo* (1298), which provided unordained parochial clergy in possession of benefices with cure the opportunity to study at university and was generally very popular in the fourteenth century. However, the only recorded parochial case for such dispensation – Eoin mac Dhubhghaill, rector of Kilmore – did not apply as he was already ordained.²⁷ The non-residency of beneficed clergy studying at university is certainly well-attested in the years after the foundation of Glasgow University, but there is no way of directly quantifying the impact of study licences in Argyll as the power to grant them was vested with the diocesan bishop.²⁸

In terms of the benefices affected by pluralism, in Argyll as elsewhere, prebends – such as Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, Kilberry and Glassary – were very popular because, as benefices without *cura animarum*, they could be held in multiple numbers without contravening canon law or requiring dispensation.²⁹ However, the archdeaconry and the cathedral dignitaries at Lismore were also targeted by pluralists even though they all entailed the *cura animarum*. The earliest instances concern the vicar of Lismore in 1389 and Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe, rector of Lochawe (1430–1441 × 1453),³⁰ but by the later fifteenth century the archdeaconry was frequently possessed by Lowland ecclesiastics with multiple benefices, including William Elphinstone and David Cunningham, who was also official of Glasgow for 13 of his 20 years as archdeacon between 1489

²⁶ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 212. The non-residency proviso also features in supplications regarding Kilmonivaig. *CPL Benedict XIII*, 141; *CPP*, 638; *CSSR*, i, 157. Other supplicants provided valuations for parochial benefices which specified the benefice's annual value to both resident and absentee or 'incomer' clergy.

²⁷ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 49–50; Boyle, "Cum ex eo", at 276–277, 297; Shinnars, "University Study Licences", at 389.

²⁸ See above pp. 210–13.

²⁹ Appendix A, (Kilcolmkill in Kintyre) nos. 177, 178, 181–82; (Kilberry) nos. 262–64; (Glassary) nos. 4, 6, 9.

³⁰ *CPP*, 573; *CSSR*, iv, nos. 782, 789.

and 1509.³¹ Given their Lowland livings, it seems unlikely that either man would have performed this office personally. These were probably *ad hoc* arrangements, but there was a recurring connection with the vicarage of Kilfinan in Cowal. Two archdeacons held this vicarage while in office during the early fifteenth and early sixteenth century respectively, and the archdeaconry and vicarage were together the subject of an unsuccessful supplication by John Makcaw (who became archdeacon) in November 1529.³² Their repeated association over a sustained period may hint at older, established ties between the vicarage of Kilfinan and the archdeaconry, or suggest that, like their counterparts in Armagh, the archdeacons of Argyll occasionally resided and served the cure.³³ Though the office was of high status, it seems that some archdeacons required greater remuneration than the benefice could provide them: in October 1404, the archdeacon found that the annual fruits of £20 sterling were insufficient to support him properly and sought permission to hold it with another benefice, even if the latter entailed the *cura animarum*.³⁴

Indeed, Lismore's cathedral churchmen often complained that the low annual income of many of Argyll's benefices (and the burdens associated with them) made it difficult for them to live off the fruits of a single benefice. This was not an unreasonable claim to make in late medieval Christendom, where spiralling inflation had a detrimental effect upon living standards and revenues after the Black Death, but in Scotland it was heightened by the debasement of Scots coinage between 1367 and 1399 and its subsequent departure from the English pound sterling.³⁵ The "sleander" and "meagre" revenues of the deanery of Argyll, the precentorship and simple prebends were sometimes cited in repeated justifications for pluralism throughout the fifteenth century,³⁶ and probably help explain why numerous dignitaries can be found possessing a variety of other

³¹ MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 77–79; *Fasti*, 246.

³² Appendix A, nos. 32, 41–42.

³³ Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, 120.

³⁴ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 125–126; Appendix A, no. 278. For more, see above, p. 57.

³⁵ Robert N. Swanson, "Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation England", in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, 151–196, at 153, 155; William J. Dohar, "'Since the pestilence time': Pastoral care in the later Middle Ages", in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G.R. Evans (London, 2000), 169–200, at 184–189; William W. Scott, "Sterling and Usual Money of Scotland 1370–1415", *Scottish Economic and Social History* 5 (1985), 4–22; Nicholson, *Later Middle Ages*, 268.

³⁶ *CPL Clement VII*, 170–171, 192–193; *Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 44–44v, 64–64v; 76, fols. 31v; *CPP*, 573; *CPL*, xviii, part ii, no. 51; *CSSR*, ii, 113.

incompatible benefices in Argyll and neighbouring dioceses during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁷

Free parsonages were also frequently targeted. Five of the six rectors of Kilcolmkill in Morvern in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were pluralists, which was undoubtedly a reflection of the high status accorded to this benefice and its incumbents, who often possessed close ties to the local nobility.³⁸ Indeed, despite the distances between them, it was amongst the parish churches along the north-western seaboard that the most conspicuous pluralist activity is recorded during the early sixteenth century. Eilean Fhionain, for example, was held for an unspecified period by Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna in plurality with the rectory of Ardnamurchan before his death in c. 1515, following which Ruairidh mac Alasdair was simultaneously presented to both churches by the Crown. Two years later this individual was then appointed to the churches of Arisaig and Knoydart. Barrell has suggested that these were simple *ad vitam* unions, typical of the kind of *ad hoc* arrangements for licensing pluralism that occur elsewhere in Scotland.³⁹ Yet the fact that this cleric was the last of three successive incumbents appointed to Arisaig and Knoydart together between 9 October 1506 and 22 April 1517 suggests a more stable arrangement between the two churches.⁴⁰ This association was likely prompted by a supplication on 9 May 1506 for Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill, which sought to have Arisaig erected into a cathedral prebend and held compatibly in union *ad vitam* with Knoydart.⁴¹ Regardless of whether they were customary or provisional, such unions were doubtless motivated by the low value of these rectories which, even though unappropriated, were among the poorest in the diocese. In southern Kintyre, where parish churches were in relatively close proximity, supplicants could justify

³⁷ Of the pluralist deans of Argyll, for example, Lachlann mac Lachlainn ["Lachlan Lachlani"] was rector of Glassary before 1350 (*CPP*, 201, 573); "Malcolm Johannis" was prebendary of Kippen in 1435 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 218); Maol-Coluim MacGillechiar ["MakGillekeir"] was late rector of Kilarrow in Islay in June 1511 (*RSS*, i, no. 2256); Alasdair MacLeòid was official of Sodor in May 1510 (*RSS*, i, no. 2069). In January 1496 Maol-Coluim mac Solaim requested to hold the vicarage of Lismore and deanery of Argyll, which was permissible as both offices were located at Lismore Cathedral.

³⁸ Appendix A, (Kilcolmkill in Morvern) nos. 433, 436, 439–41.

³⁹ Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 32–33.

⁴⁰ Appendix A, nos. 471–73, 480–82.

⁴¹ Appendix A, at churches named. Cowan's citation of the "united parish church of St Congan of Kundefurt" in a 1427 supplication is questionable, not only because the text contained numerous errors, but because Knoydart had only recently been held in plurality with the rectory of Glenelg. *Parishes*, 125; *CSSR*, i, 169; ii, 180–181, and n. 2.

pluralism by arguing that under-endowed benefices were so close they could be served by a one priest.⁴² Pluralism on these grounds amongst the scattered churches of 'the Rough-Bounds' (*an Garbh Chriochan*) of the north-west was much harder to justify, though this did not prevent the rector of Ardnamurchan in 1433, from asking for the rectory of Knoydart *ad vitam* because of "the poverty of the benefices" and as he was "able to hear morning mass in the one church and a greater mass in the other on the same day".⁴³ Sea-travel in the maritime world of the western littoral may have been a frequent activity, but this strains credulity. The poverty of the beneficed in the Rough-Bounds goes some way to explaining why several also sought collation to other relatively meagre benefices on Skye during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁴

In the absence of independent assessments of individual benefices in the inflationary climate of later medieval Scotland, the best guide are the valuations provided by supplicating clergy themselves, provided in table 12. Their testimony could be considered doubtful, as it was in their interest to favour a lower valuation in order to avoid the payment of annates, a tax levy imposed by the *Curia* upon provisions to benefices worth over 24 florins gold of the camera.⁴⁵ However, undervaluation could provoke further expensive litigation and supplicants often amended their initial estimation in a later *reformatio*, so presumably they were reasonably accurate.⁴⁶ As a rule they indicate that the intrinsic value of both cathedral and parochial benefices in Argyll was generally lower than in Lowland dioceses. Fluctuations in the exchange rate and the debasement of Scots coinage led to confusion regarding the precise threshold, but mid-fifteenth-century evaluations would suggest 24 cameral florins was roughly equivalent to between £9 and £10 Scots sterling.⁴⁷

⁴² For example, *CSSR*, iv, no. 573, v, no. 1175.

⁴³ *CSSR*, iv, no. 61; Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 33. For similar examples, see *CPP*, 530. *CSSR*, iv, no. 938. The Rough-Bounds is the collective name for the rugged tract of country between Loch Sunart and Loch Hourm in the north-west beyond the Ardnamurchan peninsula.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 144 and n. 172.

⁴⁵ *ACSB*, pp. lx, lxix, n. 2; Barrell, "Church in the West Highlands", 34.

⁴⁶ See, for example, *CPL Benedict XIII*, 69; *CPL*, xv, nos. 288, 486.

⁴⁷ In July 1431 the pound was valued at 2½ cameral florins; in March 1446, 30 cameral florins was equivalent to £10 Scots sterling; in June 1474, 20 marks Scots did not exceed 18 cameral florins; in April 1484, 24 marks Scots did not exceed 24 cameral florins. *ACSB*, pp. lxxxvii, 106, 177, 211. "Papal clerks continued to use 'sterling' for Scottish money until well into the fifteenth century, although distinguishing the pre-1393 currency as 'old sterling'", *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, eds. Peter Spufford, Wendy Wilkinson and Sarah Tolley (London, 1986), 211; Scott, "Sterling", 13–14.

As table 12 demonstrates, the cathedral dignitaries were barely above (and often below) this threshold. The deanery of Argyll – rated as worth £8 sterling annually in 1437 – appears to have been the only cathedral dignitary in Scotland exempted from paying annates between 1418 and 1488.⁴⁸ Of course, requests to hold benefices in plurality upon financial grounds were not peculiar to Argyll and can be paralleled with similarly structured complaints from other Scottish clergy,⁴⁹ but when coupled together with the relatively low valuations repeatedly given for the highest offices in the diocese, they further support the impression of a cathedral church struggling against poverty in the fifteenth century.

The surviving papal estimations are incomplete, variable and occasionally complicated by the tendency to value in marks as well as pounds sterling, but it is still possible to discern some patterns of parochial wealth within the diocese. The free rectories of Glassary and Lochawe were probably the richest benefices and, judging by other valuations elsewhere in the supplications, appear moderately wealthy livings by national standards.⁵⁰ Allegations of simoniacal pacts over the archdeaconry in 1395, the precentorship in 1451 and the provostry of Kilmun in 1465 (allegedly involving bribing Bishop Lauder) suggest that the relative wealth or prestige of benefices naturally increased their attractiveness to ecclesiastics, though even poorer livings, such as Kilmichael in Kintyre, were not immune from these allegations, and re-emphasise the premium which parochial clergy placed upon securing any benefice, no matter its value.⁵¹ Most estimations fell roughly within the £6 to £10 sterling bracket, but a conspicuous number of the lower valuations tended to be either the closely clustered parish churches in southern Kintyre or scattered along the Rough-Bounds of the north-western seaboard. Unsurprisingly, it was for these benefices that requests for pluralism or unions *ad vitam* typically emerged.

This same trend is evident amongst the vicarages with *cura animarum*. The vicarages of Glassary, Lochgoilhead and Glenorchy appear to be of greater value than many rectories in the diocese, and were certainly far richer than the vicarages of Kilcolmkill and Kilchenzie in Kintyre, or Lismore and Kilmore in Lorn. The valuations given for the vicarages of

⁴⁸ *ACSB*, 116.

⁴⁹ For examples, see *CSSR*, v, no. 1299; vi, nos. 243, 1251.

⁵⁰ Glassary was comparable with the rectory of Dunnottar, which Scrymgeour clergy also held. *CSSR*, i, 223, 259; ii, 98–99; iii, 213, 254.

⁵¹ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 57, 76; *CPL*, xii, 515; *CSSR*, v, nos. 403, 1067, 1175 and also no. 1531. For more cases in Sodor see Barrell, “Church in West Highlands”, 43.

Kilcalmonell, Kilkerran and Kilfinan would suggest that Paisley Abbey followed the Scottish statute of 1224 which assigned a minimum of 10 marks per annum as a fit portion for the vicar, though probably not the stipend of £10 sterling demanded by a later ruling issued before 1326; indeed, aside from Glassary and Lochgoilhead, none of Argyll's vicarages would appear to meet this minimum target, which was set well before inflationary tendencies manifested themselves in the 1300s.⁵² Ecclesiastical poverty was plainly an intrinsic problem and inextricably tied to the extent of pluralism in the diocese.

Further west in the Hebridean isles of Sodor, valuations could be even lower, and though comfortable livings could be found in Islay, Arran or Bute, Argyll's benefices and clergy tended to be rather more affluent than their counterparts in the Isles.⁵³ In comparison with the rest of the kingdom, however, they were amongst the poorest class in the mainland, though it would be dangerous to draw a distinction between its parochial wealth and that of other predominantly upland or outlying dioceses in Scotland, for many individual benefices were of limited value.⁵⁴ Even in the generally richer Lowland dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, there are occasional examples of vicarages worth only a few marks sterling interspersed amongst the wealthier livings.⁵⁵ Indeed, the incomes of many of Scotland's beneficed clergy were well below the 'norm' of £10 sterling per annum expected by their colleagues in England, where the pound was up to three times greater than that of the Scottish pound by the later fifteenth century.⁵⁶ A great deal more in-depth analysis is certainly required, but what has been studied thus far indicates that the wealth of many of Argyll's medieval parishes probably differed little from the countless other upland parishes scattered across the Scottish kingdom.

⁵² *Statutes*, 11–12; Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 53.

⁵³ The rectory of Uig in Lewis was valued at just ten shillings (£½ sterling) in 1450. The rectory of Rothesay in Bute, was, while less affluent than Glassary, one of the wealthier livings in the region. *ACSB*, 123; *CSSR*, v, nos. 335, 377, 738.

⁵⁴ *CSSR*, iv, nos. 183, 520, 1057, 1212. The perpetual vicarages of Sandwick and Yell in Orkney were valued at £2 and 6 marks sterling in 1458 and 1476 respectively; in Ross the vicarage of Dingwall, valued £2 sterling in 1445; the vicarage of Balquhidder, in Dunblane, valued £3 sterling in 1451. *CSSR*, iv, no. 1140; v, nos. 418, 678; vi, no. 364.

⁵⁵ *CSSR*, v, nos. 181, 1326, 1336; vi, no. 218.

⁵⁶ Heath, *English Parish Clergy*, 173. In May 1466, five years after its surrender to Scotland, the vicar of Berwick revealed that the £20 sterling he received during Scottish occupation was only worth a third of the £20 sterling he previously received under English rule. *CSSR*, v, no. 1124; N. MacDougall, *James III* (Edinburgh, 2009), 46.

Tithes, which formed the parochial clergy's staple income, were typically calculated at a tenth of the annual increase of produce from the land (real or predial tithes – crops, calves, lambs, wool and dairy produce) or from the profits of labour, industry and commerce (personal tithes).⁵⁷ The precise arrangement for tithing in Argyll is unknown, but it probably adhered to this conventional model, which was followed in medieval Scottish statutes, and which also features in Sodor's thirteenth-century statutes.⁵⁸ Salt and freshwater fishing may have been a source of substantial revenues in Argyll, especially during the herring-fishing boom in the later fifteenth century, though tales of disputes elsewhere in late medieval Scotland over tithing of catches suggests that collection could be an antagonistic affair.⁵⁹ There is no record of the collection of the wool tithe, though it would have been very lucrative for Argyll was a predominantly pastoral economy. Nor does there seem to be any evidence of whether clergy tithed Argyll's chief commodity – cattle – or whether, as in Ireland, they were denied access to the Highland's fundamental source of revenue.⁶⁰ Tithing of bullocks (*bucolorus*) was mentioned in Sodor's synodal statutes of 1229, but not in the more comprehensive ordinances of 1291, while Scottish ecclesiastical statutes refer only to dairy cattle.⁶¹ Although theoretically subject to tithing, the logistical difficulties involved in calculating and collecting a tenth from herds of dry-cattle would be enormous, not only because parish boundaries traversed mountain-ranges but also because cattle-raiding was endemic in the society.⁶² In many cases would have been practically impossible to accurately determine to which parish certain livestock pertained. Local magnates would have had the power and infrastructure to secure collection, and may have been employed to perform this task, but they or other third parties could always siphon off

⁵⁷ "Tithes", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html [accessed 6 August 2010]. See also Alexander A. Cormack, *Teinds and Agriculture: an Historical Survey* (London, 1930), 29–44; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 162–178.

⁵⁸ *Statutes*, nos. 34–45; *Monumenta de Insula Manniae or A Collection of National Documents relating to the Isle of Man*, ed. J.R. Oliver, 3 vols. (1860–62), iii, 188–192.

⁵⁹ *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, iii, 190; Rylie, *Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, 23–24.

⁶⁰ Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, 29, 68–69. For the wealth of pastoral farming in the early sixteenth-century Highlands, see Major, *History*, 36, 49; Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*.

⁶¹ *Monumenta de Insula Manniae*, 178–180; *Statutes*, nos. 87, 97, 107.

⁶² Martin MacGregor, "Warfare in Gaelic Scotland in the Later Middle Ages" in *A Military History of Scotland*, eds. J.A. Crang, E.M. Spiers and M. Strickland (Edinburgh, 2012), 209–231.

a huge portion as commission for themselves. Commuting the tithe to a fixed money payment would offer a convenient alternative arrangement, but would have depreciated in value in Scotland's inflationary climate.⁶³ Throughout Europe the level of payment of tithe varied according to local customary practices, so the likelihood that Argyll's clergy failed to tithe livestock effectively could not be considered unusual.⁶⁴ It may, however, largely explain why ecclesiastical valuations in Argyll, Sodor and the wider Highland region tended to be lower than those in the chiefly arable Lowland economy.

The scale of appropriation was probably less of an issue in Argyll than elsewhere in the country. It is seen as one of the greatest flaws of the medieval Church, where tithes intended to support the ministry of the altar were diverted instead to support monasteries, cathedrals and other ecclesiastical establishments, which in turn appointed a vicar or chaplain to serve the cure on a fraction of the tithe. Already by the mid-thirteenth century nearly 70% of Scotland's parsonage revenues were annexed to religious houses, and by the Reformation of 1560 the figure had risen to an incredible 86%.⁶⁵ At the national level, the Scottish Church's problems here were clearly both acute and chronic. However, neither of these figures make allowance for regional variations which could appreciably alter the scale of the trend, and in Argyll many annexations were actually of late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century date. Thus while roughly two-thirds of the parsonage revenues in Argyll had been permanently annexed to religious institutions by 1560, the figure was just over 50% before the augmentation of the bishopric in 1507, and approximately a third before the creation of Kilmun Collegiate Church in 1441.⁶⁶ There was also a significant discrepancy in the treatment of vicarages, for while vicarages in

⁶³ Alasdair Ross informs me that all livestock in Border estates were tithed and conjectures that in Moray, it was probably the maer who was responsible for tithing animals. For this office, see p. 135, n. 129.

⁶⁴ Norman P. Tanner and Sethina Watson, "Least of the laity: the minimum requirements for a medieval Christian", *JMH* 32 (2006), 395–423, at 414–415. See also Paula Simpson, "The Continuum of Resistance to Tithe, c. 1400–1600", in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640*, eds. Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot, 2007), 93–108, at 99–100, where the shift from arable to pastoral farming led to unsuccessful attempts to tithe working cattle.

⁶⁵ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 13–14; *Parishes*, 213–225; Oram, *Domination and Lordship*, 348.

⁶⁶ There is no direct evidence that Lochawe was annexed to the college before 1560. The record cited by Dunlop and Cowan (*ACSB*, 129–130; *Parishes*, 98) appears to refer to the church of Kilmun not Lochawe. See *CPL*, xii, 243–244. However, Kilcolmkill in Kintyre may still have been a prebend in 1538.

Argyll could be occasionally given to absenteeist and pluralist clergy, there is no evidence that any vicarages themselves ever experienced annexation to a religious institution, possibly because of their low value. This contrasted sharply with the national pattern where over half of the vicarages in appropriated churches had been annexed by 1560, and meant that, in theory at least, parochial tithes were still going to the individuals responsible for the parish *cura animarum* and not to institutions elsewhere.⁶⁷

However, the men appointed by the monasteries to appropriated parishes under their care may have proved more damaging to the *cura animarum*, for several vicarages at parish churches annexed to religious foundations in Ayrshire or Renfrewshire were often in pluralist possession. Edmund Henderson, the long-serving curate of Kilwinning parish church in Ayrshire (1512–1557), also held the perpetual vicarage of Keills in Knapdale for 12 years between 1539 and 1551, but probably never served the cure.⁶⁸ He undoubtedly owed his appointment to Kilwinning Abbey, to whom the tithes of both churches had long been annexed.⁶⁹ Several pluralist vicars possessed churches belonging to Paisley Abbey, which had already stood accused of allowing them to fall into disrepair in the mid-fourteenth century.⁷⁰ They included the aforementioned archdeacons of Argyll who possessed the vicarage of Kilfinan in the early fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and also John Arous, who seems to have simultaneously held the vicarage of Kilcalmonell with the much richer vicarage of Haddington, near Edinburgh, in the early 1430s.⁷¹ Arous, like other non-Gaelic-speaking vicars of appropriated parishes (Patrick Cornton of Kilcalmonell appointed by Paisley; William Baillie of Inverchaolain appointed by Fail house), was probably not a permanent resident. Interestingly, however, none of these men were explicitly accused of neglecting the *cura animarum*, which suggests that they, like James Scrymgeour, rector of Glassary (1421–1425), engaged a fit substitute priest skilled in the local vernacular to reside and perform pastoral duties on their behalf.⁷² As several of these individuals were simultaneously employed in an administrative or personal capacity in ecclesiastical, noble or royal households, it seems clear that, regardless of their original purpose, these benefices were being utilised as a salary to

⁶⁷ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 14.

⁶⁸ Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: people and change 1490–1600* (East Linton, 1997), 30–31.

⁶⁹ *Parishes*, 102, 110.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 92.

⁷¹ See above, p. 240; Appendix A, no. 249; *ACSB*, 106.

⁷² *CSSR*, i, 258.

make up for a shortfall elsewhere.⁷³ To what extent the religious houses were actively involved is uncertain, but they do not inspire much confidence that they took their responsibilities for care of souls very seriously. On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to conclude that this was necessarily the case across the board.

Considering the number of supplications from Argyll, there are very few instances of grave pastoral negligence against incumbent priests, even though it was in the interests of plaintiffs to make such accusations in order to strengthen their case. Indeed, aside from an admission by the dean of Argyll in 1496 that he “negligently failed to say the canonical hours”,⁷⁴ there are only five allegations in the papal record, three of which tied the incumbent’s inability to speak Gaelic to the neglect of the cure: in August 1441 the vicar of Glenorchy was “unable fittingly to preach the word of God to the parishioners, hear confessions and administer the sacraments”; two months later the vicar of Lochgoilhead allegedly allowed parishioners to die without the sacraments of the Church due to his negligence and inability to speak the local idiom, and in April 1498 it was alleged that the non-Gaelic-speaking vicar of Kilcalmonell negligently allowed several parishioners to die “without penance, the Eucharist or extreme unction”.⁷⁵ Apart from confession, none of these sacraments required a decent grasp of the vernacular; the mass was celebrated in Latin and parish priests were required only to preach to the faithful on a handful occasions each year – and even then substitutes could perform this duty on their behalf.⁷⁶

Although it was not directly alleged, these complaints were symptomatic of absentee clergy and paralleled similar allegations of pastoral neglect lodged against Gaelic incumbents in Sodor diocese, as well as visitation records from further afield in England.⁷⁷ The visitation records highlighted the farming or leasing of tithes and church-lands to tacksmen (a common practice on the part of absenteeist clergy in order to obtain a convenient salary and avoid the difficulty of collecting the tithe from unenthusiastic parishioners) and the disrepair of parish churches as characteristic signs of

⁷³ See Appendix A, nos. 13, 65, 249. For Baillie, see above, p. 222 and n. 96.

⁷⁴ *CPL*, xvii, part ii, no. 51.

⁷⁵ *CSSR*, iv, nos. 787, 823; *CPL*, xvi, no. 869.

⁷⁶ *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England*, eds. J. Shinnars and W.J. Dohar (Notre Dame, 1998), 128, 170–185; *Statutes*, nos. 195, 275; J. Martos, *Doors to the Sacred: an historical introduction to sacraments in the Christian Church* (London, 1981), 379–384, 387. For more on the language cases, see MacDonald “That uncouth dialect” (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 132; *CSSR*, iv, no. 828. Similar allegations were made against the vicar of Kirkapoll, Tiree, in the same month. *Ibid.*, no. 820.

absenteeism.⁷⁸ There is admittedly little support for the leasing of tithes, but given the great size of some parishes and the number of instances of pluralism, it was probably more widespread than the surviving evidence implies.⁷⁹ However, Lochgoilhead was indeed ruinous for in October 1441 an indulgence was sought, doubtless by the vicar – Peter of Dalkeith – for all those who visited and contributed pious alms to repair the church, which was “completely collapsed in its structures, roofs and edifices” and “destitute of ornaments, books and other trappings and jewels necessary for divine worship”.⁸⁰ There was clearly a complete breakdown in relations between the incumbent and his parishioners at this church; the suppliant’s description of them as “rough and uncharitable” may hint that some parishioners were refusing to contribute towards the repair of church’s nave and that in retaliation the vicar denied them the sacraments in lieu of payment, or vice-versa.⁸¹ Allegations of pastoral neglect were not limited to the beneficed from the Lowlands – in 1467 the Gaelic vicar of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre stood accused of allowing parishioners to die without the sacraments – but when coupled together with accusations of non-residency made against other non-Gaelic-speaking incumbents, may suggest that the *cura animarum* was more likely to suffer under the charge of Lowland churchmen.⁸² Nevertheless, those facing such allegations still form a very small minority of the total number of Lowland parochial incumbents operating in the diocese, and as *ex parte* statements, the allegations should be treated with caution. More generally, the lack of allegations of pastoral negligence from supplicating clergy against their beneficed colleagues would indicate that few were guilty of serious offences and that parishioners’ needs were usually served satisfactorily.

Of potentially graver concern are the indications of pastoral neglect implied in a decree between the Earl of Argyll and Bishop David Hamilton on 2 December 1518. In one provision the bishop agreed to “caus the kirkmen within his diosy [diocese] to do thar dett [due] to the kirkis and repare thame to the honour of god and honeste of halie kirk”, sequestering

⁷⁸ Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 128–130, 135.

⁷⁹ For examples, see Appendix A, nos. 128, 291, 363, 426. See also Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 19–20.

⁸⁰ CSSR, iv, no. 819.

⁸¹ Responsibility for the maintenance of the church was divided between the parishioners and the priest, the former being responsible for the nave and the latter for the chancel and the provision of liturgical utensils. *Statutes*, nos. 110, 270. For English examples, see Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 134, 135.

⁸² Appendix A, no. 185.

the parsonage and vicarage fruits if deemed necessary and to “caus sum man of knaulege” who would be supported and entertained at the earl’s expense “to pas in the cuntre and prech and tech the pepill to leif [live] rychtuislie [righteously]”.⁸³ The stipulation again highlighted the same characteristic problems faced by parishes with absentee clergy, and its broadness suggests that quite a number of beneficed clergy in the early sixteenth century had allowed the parishes to fall into material and spiritual disrepair. The refusal of the parishioners of Inverchaolain in 1549 to obey their vicar, Robert Maxwell, until he had repaired his part of the church and provided liturgical vestments, may suggest that this was an enduring problem, though no further examples have yet been found in this period.⁸⁴ The requirement for a competent, itinerant preacher to tour was not peculiar, being just one of a number of policy initiatives undertaken by Scotland’s bishops in the sixteenth century which emphasised the importance of preaching.⁸⁵ As well as flagging up serious concerns about some clerical attitudes in the diocese, the decree also underlines the Earl of Argyll’s prominence in directing local ecclesiastical affairs.⁸⁶

The balance of evidence would suggest that in Argyll, as in other dioceses, the involvement of non-resident clergy in pastoral affairs was probably more of a managerial rather than personal nature, ensuring that the parish was run smoothly and effectively. Doubtless in many cases there was an element of the benefice being primarily treated as ‘property’ by their patrons, to be bestowed on young protégés or used as salaries to retain the services of highly-valued clergy, with some of the revenues used to employ a resident priest to serve the *cura animarum*. It is, however, difficult to say how pastoral care in Argyll compared in the wider context. Todd’s analysis of mid-sixteenth-century parishes of Dunblane suggested that as many as ten of the perpetual vicarages were prebendal in nature and were held by pluralists, so Argyll, where no vicarial prebends are recorded, probably fared better when it came to the *cura animarum*.⁸⁷ Moreover, while curates certainly pop up rather more frequently in Argyll during the sixteenth century, there is nothing surviving to suggest that

⁸³ ADC 1501–1554, 131.

⁸⁴ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 23.

⁸⁵ A. Ryrie, “Reform without Frontiers in the Last Years of Catholic Scotland”, *EHR* 119 (2004), 27–56, at 45. Bishop Brown of Dunkeld (1483–1515) arranged that Gaelic-speaking Friars Minors and Friars Preachers should annually preach and hear confessions in the upper parts of his diocese. *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 304.

⁸⁶ See below, pp. 267–68.

⁸⁷ Todd, “Pre-Reformation Cure of Souls”, 31.

its situation was comparable with other regions, such as Armagh *inter Anglicos*, where two-thirds of the churches were served by unbeneficed curates during the sixteenth century.⁸⁸

THE BURDEN OF HOSPITALITY

Some pluralist supplicants in Argyll and Sodor specifically tied their benefice's poverty to the expectations of hospitality that were placed upon them by society. Although, theoretically, parish clergy were supposed to assign a third of their annual income for alms and hospitality, the growth of institutional provision and religious communities (both as providers of hospitality and as appropriators of parochial revenues) throughout Europe reduced the prevalence of this practice in the parishes.⁸⁹ Parochial hospitality was a feature peculiar to supplicants from these dioceses and led Dunlop to conclude that hospitality in Argyll and Sodor was "characteristic of the church in this area", though Martin MacGregor has more recently suggested that it should be understood within the context of hospitality in contemporary Gaelic Ireland.⁹⁰ The absence of hospitals in Argyll certainly indicates that hospitality was a peculiarly onerous burden upon the parochial clergy.⁹¹

Several of the examples of parochial hospitality in the West Highlands repeatedly emphasised that the "custom" of hospitality was an obligation distinctive to their locality. On 13 February 1420 the rector of Glassary sought dispensation to hold his benefice with the vicarage of Glassary *ad vitam* because his income was "scarcely sufficient" to cover his obligation to provide hospitality for all who came to his church and "freely to afford them the necessary food and drink".⁹² A day later the treasurer of Argyll sought dispensation to hold the dignity with the incompatible perpetual vicarage of Kilbodan in Benderloch maintaining that, as treasurer, he had insufficient revenues to maintain a poor's hospital and "gratuitously"

⁸⁸ Jefferies, *Priest and Prelates*, 48.

⁸⁹ Christopher Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England, 1400–1530* (London, 1989), 45; Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England* (Berkeley, 1959), 70, 73–74. See also R.A.R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), 155–161; *CPL*, vi, 311; xii, 369.

⁹⁰ Dunlop, "Notes on the Dioceses of Sodor and Argyll", 182; MacGregor, "Church and culture", 5.

⁹¹ Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 152–153.

⁹² *CSSR*, i, 173, and 188, for his stated obligation of "maintaining common hospitality".

sustain all who served therein.⁹³ In March 1423 the rector of Kilmelfort argued that “it is the custom in those parts to entertain pilgrims and others freely with food and drink”; five years later he repeated that “in those parts of Scotland where [he] is beneficed, benefices are known to be lean and also the beneficed are bound to hospitality.”⁹⁴ This observation, which gives the clear impression that customary hospitality was a widespread regional practice in the West Highlands, is supported by further hospitality supplications relating to the vicarage of Kilmallie in Argyll, and to the vicarages of Snizort, Kilviceuen, Inchkenneth, and Sorobie, as well as Iona Abbey in Sodor diocese.⁹⁵ True, most of the supplications arrived in Rome in brief flurries during the early-to-mid fifteenth century, and some supplicants were related to each other, meaning that there was probably a degree of imitation involved. However, the earliest reference occurs in an indult to Ardchattan Priory in January 1339, signalling that this custom of hospitality was actually an obligation of long-standing in the Church in Argyll.⁹⁶

The duty of monastic hospitality was of course not unusual, but the suggestion that beneficed clergy were ‘bound’ to provide for all comers went well beyond the expectations of hospitality in canon law, which dictated that parsons and vicars should only offer hospitality and alms as far as their resources would allow and give preference to the local poor first ahead of strangers.⁹⁷ This custom, though, appeared to entail much more than the simple expectation placed upon any beneficed clergymen to provide charity to the needy. Parochial hospitality was never cited as an issue in any other Scottish supplications, and although there are examples of parish clergy providing it in England, they do not convey the same picture suggested by West Highland supplicants.⁹⁸

⁹³ CSSR, i, 174–175.

⁹⁴ CSSR, ii, 7–8, 189–190. MacDonald, “Iona’s Local Associations”, 105, suggests this may refer to pilgrims to Iona.

⁹⁵ For Argyll churches see CSSR, i, 173, 175, 188; ii, 7–8; iii, 182. For Sodor churches see CSSR, i, 267–268, 268–269, 271–272, 275–276; ii, 182, 199; iv, nos. 796, 828. The latter three parish churches became annexed to Iona Abbey or Nunnery. See *Parishes*, 85, 109, 185.

⁹⁶ *Lettres Communes [of] Benoit XII (1334–1342), analysées d’après les registres dits d’Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. J.M. Vidal, 3 vols., (Paris, 1903–11), 2.2.2, no. 7275.

⁹⁷ Shinnars and Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, 97, 225; Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), 246; Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 84–85.

⁹⁸ In 1462 the rector of Baldock in Herefordshire claimed his predecessors no longer maintained hospitality because of declining revenues. *CPL*, xi, 618. However, a canon of Exeter claimed he kept “decent hospitality” feeding the poor in 1409, while an absentee vicar of Brading on the Isle of Wight provided “wonted” (i.e. customary) hospitality in 1458. *CPL*, vi, 212; xi, 317.

However, in Gaelic Ireland the injunction of Christian charity complemented a strong native tradition to provide hospitality which was fundamental to the basic functioning of a non-monetary economy, even being codified in native laws obliging all householders to provide hospitality relative to their status and wealth.⁹⁹ Unlike Gaelic Scotland, Ireland had an abundance of hospitals, but there were still numerous fifteenth-century parochial churchmen who referred in almost identical fashion to the “manner” or “custom of the Irish” to maintain hospitality for “pilgrims”, “guests” and “all comers”.¹⁰⁰ This pattern seems to go against the trend in England where the growth of hospitals reduced the burden incumbent upon the parish clergy, and indicates a customary practice that was deeply embedded within the host society.¹⁰¹ These Irish clergy belonged to a class that provided open guesthouses free to all; obits in Irish annals praised such individuals effusively as general hospitallers (*biatach* – ‘food provider’) or for maintaining general guesthouses for the poor, travelers (including bardic bands), strangers and pilgrims, though not all such guests were necessarily underprivileged.¹⁰² There are no surviving annals for West Highland churchmen, though an early sixteenth-century prebendary of Alyth in Dunkeld diocese who kept “open house in the highland fashion” may have been a general hospitaller.¹⁰³ Simms categorises Irish churchmen who observed customary hospitality as largely “traditionalist” Gaels from ecclesiastical (principally *coarb* and *erenagh*) families that practised concubinage and hereditary succession, and the background of some supplicants in Argyll and Sodor shared similarities with the picture in Ireland.¹⁰⁴ Both the treasurer of Argyll and rector of Kilmelfort belonged

⁹⁹ Kelly, *Early Irish Law*, 36, 140; C. Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999), 49, 63, 68; Catherine Marie O’Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin, 2004), 18–22.

¹⁰⁰ See *CPL*, passim. Parochial supplicants from Kilmore and the neighbouring dioceses of Clogher and Ardagh were especially prominent in this regard, which is interesting as Kilmore and Ardagh were also among those best supplied with actual hospitals. Mooney, “The Church in Gaelic Ireland”, 18–20.

¹⁰¹ Hartridge, *Vicarages*, 66; B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West* (London, 2003), 68–69.

¹⁰² O’Sullivan, *Hospitality*, 150–158; Katharine Simms, “Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland”, *JRSAI* 108 (1978), 67–100, at 75–76.

¹⁰³ *Rentale Dunkeldense*, 328. Myln evidently saw a distinction between this kind of hospitality and the provision of daily alms and victuals for poor folk provided by the dean and prebendaries of Dunkeld. *Ibid.*, 320, 325, 326.

¹⁰⁴ Simms, “Guesting and Feasting”, 70–71; Simms “Frontiers in the Irish Church”, 198; O’Sullivan, *Hospitality*, 151–153. Welsh clerical hospitality was also associated with concubinage. Heal, *Hospitality in England*, 252.

to the MacGille-Mhìcheil ecclesiastical kindred, while “Adam Dominici” and “Dominicus Dominici” – together responsible for five of the hospitality supplications in Sodor – were almost certainly brothers from an ecclesiastical lineage based at Iona Abbey.¹⁰⁵ The prominence of Irish *erenaghs* furthermore supports the later tradition that the custodians of the *Bachull Mòr*, whose office seems roughly analogous with the *erenagh*, acted as the medieval almoners of Lismore Cathedral, dispensing the bishops’ bounty to the poor of the parish.¹⁰⁶ There may have been traces of institutional provision here, for originally the system of quadripartition set aside a portion of tithes for the poor and pilgrim guests, with the remainder divided between the bishop and parish priest.¹⁰⁷ There is no evidence from Argyll or Sodor, but in 1452 a cleric from Clogher diocese sought papal confirmation of the *erenaghs*’ traditional entitlement to the “episcopal fourths” to help them keep customary hospitality.¹⁰⁸ Noble Irish clergymen feared the consequences of refusing to entertain and gaining an unfavourable reputation for niggardliness and in this regard the fifteenth-century poem addressed to the Lord of the Isles regarding the custom of *faighdhe* (asking for help in kind; anglicised as ‘thigging’) in *BDL* illustrates that hospitality was a conventional expectation amongst the West Highland elite from which numerous clergy were drawn.¹⁰⁹ That clerical hospitality in the West Highlands was heavily bound by societal customs is also suggested by the complaints made by the rector of Glassary and the prioress of Iona in the early 1500s regarding sorning (from Gaelic *sorthan*), a term which referred to a lord’s entitlement to tax his inhabitants in kind through free lodging and entertainment, but which became loosely applied to other

¹⁰⁵ *HP*, iv, 167, n. 1. For references to supplications, see above, n. 95. For the political context at Iona see Alan MacQuarrie, “Kings, Lords and Abbots: Power and Patronage at the Medieval Monastery of Iona”, *TGSI* 54 (1984–86), 353–375, at 362–366. In addition to kinship, it is notable that several supplications came from two groups of Gaelic clergy present in Rome either in the spring of 1420 or the winter of 1421.

¹⁰⁶ Carmichael, “Barons of Bachuill”, 363. Could they have served in the treasurer’s poor’s hospital? See above p. 251; for the *erenagh*, see above, p. 200.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholls, “Rectory”, 65, n. 10; Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origin to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), 51–56.

¹⁰⁸ B. Smith, “The Late Medieval Diocese of Clogher, c. 1200–1480” in *History of the Diocese of Clogher*, ed. H.A. Jefferies (Dublin, 2005), 70–80, at 75; *CPL*, x, 613–614. There may be some parallel with England, where lay farmers of ecclesiastical lands were theoretically obliged to maintain hospitality if the cleric was non-resident. Heal, *Hospitality in England*, 254.

¹⁰⁹ O’Sullivan, *Hospitality*, 181; *BDL*, pp. 66–81, 272–275. See *CPL*, viii, 599; xii, 158, for two fifteenth-century Irish priests who argued that their noble origins required that they provide hospitality.

travellers who obtained free lodging.¹¹⁰ It seems most likely that fifteenth-century parish clergy in Argyll and Sodor were referring to this kind of customary hospitaller role when they supplicated Rome about their pecuniary troubles.

Evidence of general hospitality so far east in Highland Perthshire, together with the scarcity of institutional provision in the Highlands, may prompt speculation as to its prevalence in the wider Scots *Gàidhealtachd*. Yet it would be unsafe to extrapolate from these few sporadic examples that *all* parish clergy throughout the *Gàidhealtachd* necessarily engaged in these customs. Indeed, Thomas Greig, the prebendary of Alyth who kept 'Highland' hospitality, possessed ties with the Argyll magnate Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy, the composer of poetry satirising a notorious beggar who lived off the hospitality of others.¹¹¹ The beneficed clergy who maintained open hospitality were most likely local Gaels with ties to the nobility or belonging to ecclesiastical or learned lineages. The custom was always liable to be a self-perpetuating process, as a priest-son who learnt his apprenticeship under his father's tutelage is also likely to have emulated his customs and conventions – this was certainly the trend in Gaelic Ireland.¹¹² Sorning may have been a greater burden – in the early 1500s assurances were given to the government by West Highland chiefs that they would stop the practice and would not interfere with tithes or impose exactions upon the Church. This implies that sorning was perceived to be a significant issue, though it may have been temporarily exacerbated by the recent forfeiture of Clann Dòmhnail.¹¹³ The regularity of such exactions upon the clergy remains unanswered, though it would have been an incredibly heavy burden if clergy were also denied the tithe of cattle. While it is impossible to be definitive, it seems likely that the provision of hospitality was a customary burden accepted amongst local, Gaelic, beneficed churchmen in Argyll and the Isles, with the level of expectancy being roughly commensurate with the wealth of the incumbent's benefice.

¹¹⁰ *CPL*, xvii, part i, no. 493; *RSS*, i, no. 1797; Boardman, *Campbells*, 324; *An Lasair: an anthology of 18th century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, ed. Ronald Black (Edinburgh, 2001), p. xxix.

¹¹¹ On 21 September 1510 Greig witnessed a marriage dispensation issued by the dean of Argyll in the chapel of Loch Tay for Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy. NAS GD112/25/4; *BDL*, pp. 14–21, 260.

¹¹² O'Sullivan, *Hospitality*, 151–152.

¹¹³ *ER*, xii, 703–704. For more on sorning, see Steve Boardman, "Lordship in the North-East: the Badenoch Stewarts, I. Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch", *Northern Scotland* 16 (1996), 1–29, at 5, 7, 26, n. 36; Boardman, *Campbells*, 323–325.

This is perhaps understandable given that hospitality was woven into the fabric of all Christian societies, and was a fundamentally important segment of the social, political and military infrastructure of medieval Gaelic lordship, and where the local chief was often a more familiar figure in parochial life than the bishop. While there was a shortage of hospital institutions, mechanisms for the provision of welfare for the traveller, the local poor and the sick did exist in Argyll and were deeply embedded, perhaps even more so than in the Lowlands, within the psyche of the beneficed clergy.

ORDINATION

Although it was the ideal that the individual who held the benefice was the same person who ministered the sacraments, this was not always the case in the medieval period.¹¹⁴ *Licet canon* (1274) commanded that any individual appointed to a parochial cure “must be ordained to the priesthood within a year reckoned from the time when the parish was handed over to him”, though Scottish ecclesiastical legislation illustrates that unordained rectors and vicars were a recognised problem throughout the later medieval period.¹¹⁵ Allegations of non-promotion to the priesthood were markedly higher in fourteenth-century Scotland than in England, and Barrell has proposed that instances in the supplications from Argyll and Sodor indicate that many clerics in the West Highlands probably ministered the sacraments without full canonical sanction.¹¹⁶ Even judging by the number of illegitimate priest-sons, it is apparent that there was an abundance of priests within the diocese, yet how many held benefices with *cura animarum*?

There are no ordination registers in Scotland, so the only useful glimpse into this issue in Argyll is provided by papal supplications, where supplicants regularly listed their ecclesiastical rank and where the failure to be ordained was occasionally cited as a reason for deprivation. Approximately 70% of the 88 incumbents – and three out of every four vicars – that detailed their clerical status in the papal record between 1378 and 1560

¹¹⁴ Shinnars and Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, 54, and 49–55 for a summary of ordination and admission.

¹¹⁵ Sext, 1.6, 14 in *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Aemilius Freidberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81), and translation in Shinnars and Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls*, 70–71; Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 127–130; *Statutes*, nos. 80, 108, 134, 136, 137, 271.

¹¹⁶ Barrell, *Papacy*, 96–97; Barrell, “Church in the West Highlands”, 40.

were already registered as priests, but the sample is too small to warrant further scrutiny. A more rewarding insight is gained by examining the 19 cases where incumbents were either accused of, or admitted to, non-promotion to the priesthood within a year of receiving possession. Most formulaically stated that the incumbent had held the benefice for over a year without promotion, but a few alleged that unordained incumbents had possessed benefices for a quite a number of years. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill of the Isles, for instance, held the rectories of Kilmallie and Kilcolmkill in Morvern for seven years between 1419 and 1426, while Coinneach mac Beatháin had possessed the rectory of Kilmonivaig for three to four years before requesting indult for ordination at the Roman court in June 1466.¹¹⁷ Most seriously of all, in the early fifteenth century the rector of Knoydart and the vicar of Kilfinan were each accused of possessing their benefices for over eight and 12 years respectively without seeking promotion to the priesthood.¹¹⁸ These men were clerks or subdeacons, and thus unable to dispense the sacraments and in the latter two cases this would certainly have required the hiring of a curate priest. It is worth highlighting, however, that there is no specific accusation that an unordained incumbent had celebrated mass or ministered any other sacrament without canonical sanction.¹¹⁹

What seems more significant is the timing of the allegations, as the majority only concerned former incumbents who were either dead¹²⁰ or had resigned their benefice following promotion to higher office. For example, the supplication by Eoin mac Aonghais against Dubhghall mac Alasdair MacIain regarding the rectory of Ardnamurchan on 7 January 1428 was delivered over a year and a half after the latter had obtained papal provision to Oronsay Priory, while the outbreak of litigation against Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill doubtless coincided with news of his imminent election to the bishopric of Sodor.¹²¹ Connections with the local nobility doubtless explains how some clergy were able to maintain

¹¹⁷ *CSSR*, ii, 120–121, 132, 134, 135–136; iii, 166; v, no. 1127.

¹¹⁸ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 212; *CSSR*, ii, 180–181.

¹¹⁹ On 4 January 1436 Eoin “Marcallich”, rector of Glenelg, was accused of celebrating masses while excommunicated to the “vilification of ecclesiastical order”. This, however, was connected to his alleged maintenance of a concubine following his ordination and unrelated to the allegation that he had held Glenelg for over a year without seeking promotion to the priesthood. *CSSR*, iv, no. 233.

¹²⁰ *CPL Benedict XIII*, 64, 65; *CSSR*, ii, 109; iv, no. 322.

¹²¹ *CPL*, vii, 457–458; viii, 10. Aonghas received provision to Sodor by 19 June 1426, yet was still a subdeacon on 29 December 1427. *DN*, 17; no. 447; *CSSR*, ii, 182–183.

corporeal possession without fear of deprivation, while other accusations (for example, between Aonghas mac Aoidh MacAoidh and his probable brother Aodh regarding the rectory of Kilchousland) were probably carefully orchestrated and designed to ensure the benefice and its property remained within the kindred's possession.¹²²

The distribution and chronology of ordination cases also appears to shift from south to north over the course of the fifteenth century. Prior to 1425 all the cases, which were not very numerous, involve benefices spread across the deaneries of Cowal/Glassary and Lorn, yet after 1425 the focus became localised to benefices in the deanery of Morvern, which accounted for nine of the remaining 12 cases of non-promotion and no less than half of the overall total for the whole diocese. The incumbent rectors at Ardnamurchan, Eilean Fhionain, Knoydart, and Glenelg are all represented, but Kilmallie and Kilcolmkill in Morvern are the most prominent of all the parochial benefices during the fifteenth century.¹²³ In the rest of the diocese, allegations of non-promotion largely disappeared during this period, though there are occasional requests for dispensation from ordination.¹²⁴ It is possible that in some instances litigants who knew each other copied successful strategies in the scramble for preferment,¹²⁵ or it may also be interpreted as confirming the infrequency of ordination ceremonies in these regions of Argyll. Yet another more interesting possibility might be found in the relationship between the incumbent and the patron. *Licet canon* was chiefly intended to stop founders and patrons regarding local churches as their own property which they could bestow upon members of the family who were neither qualified nor desirous of taking holy orders.¹²⁶ As all of these Morvern churches belonged to the patronage of the lords of the Isles, the increasing number of complaints may suggest that its clergy were coming under closer scrutiny than they had hitherto experienced before 1425. Incumbents elsewhere in the diocese were not necessarily being ordained within the requisite year, but were probably adhering more closely to canonical procedure.

¹²² CSSR, ii, 188–189.

¹²³ Kilmallie is found in the possession of an unordained rector in 1426 and 1431, and Kilcolmkill in Morvern in 1426 and 1498.

¹²⁴ CSSR, ii, 195; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2865, fol. 20v.

¹²⁵ My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for this suggestion.

¹²⁶ Dowden, *Medieval Church*, 128.

CURATES, CHAPLAINS AND CHAPELS

Rectors and vicars who did not serve the *cura animarum* would have engaged unbeneficed priests to minister the sacraments to the parishioners on their behalf. Below the parochial structure of rectors and vicars we find examples of chaplains or curates who assisted, or sometimes undertook the burden of ecclesiastical provision in the parishes. A crucial yet mysterious segment of the priesthood, there a very few curates or chaplains recorded serving within Argyll's parochial structure. The *cura animarum* was the *raison d'être* of the curate, who laboured at the coalface of everyday parish life, but are rarely mentioned in surviving sources, there being just six recorded – at Kilmelfort, Dunoon, Kilmun, Glenorchy, Inverchaolain, and Killeen – in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹²⁷ The fact that the latter three churches were already annexed may signal that the *cura animarum* was no longer even the domain of the vicar, but it also reveals a depth to the hierarchical ecclesiastical structure in Argyll which was probably a more widespread feature across the diocese.¹²⁸

Some further indication of this and the likely annual remuneration such priests could expect may be deduced from the valuation clauses given for resident and non-resident clergy. According to Dunlop, the difference probably represented the stipend which the curate on the spot could expect to receive.¹²⁹ If so, a curate serving the *cura animarum* in Kilmonivaig parish in 1420 could expect to receive 10 marks old sterling annually, but curates serving Glassary, Knoydart and Kilbodan in Benderloch in the same year would have each received just 5, 4 and 4 marks old sterling, respectively.¹³⁰ These figures were comparable with the £2 sterling (40 shillings) salary of the chaplain of Tarbert Castle in Knapdale in 1326, but considering the size of some parishes and more especially the spiralling cost of living in the early fifteenth century, this hardly seems an adequate recompense for their services.¹³¹ The low pay received by curates is typically cited as a chief reason for the inability to attract men of decent calibre to serve the cure, and curates themselves were frequently the subject of contemporary

¹²⁷ "Curate" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html [accessed 22 May 2010].

¹²⁸ Appendix A, nos. 77, 244, 364.

¹²⁹ *CSSR*, i, pp. xxxix, n. 1.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 157, 169, 173, 174.

¹³¹ *ER*, i, 54. There were poorer charges: the curate at Muckersie in Dunkeld diocese would have received just 2 marks sterling. *CSSR*, i, 193–194.

ridicule as ‘Sir John Latinless’, but in Argyll’s case the surviving evidence is too scarce to enable any meaningful analysis, though some perhaps, were among the otherwise obscure figures who supplicated the Penitentiary.

There are a high number of references to chaplains in the surviving records for Argyll. The term *capellanus* did not have a precise definition in the medieval period, and it is uncertain whether they were necessarily ordained priests, but it seems likely they played an important role in the pastoral life of the diocese.¹³² Most appear to be personal chaplains or familiars of the great magnates, some celebrated masses for the dead, but others were probably incorporated within the parochial structure and charged with supporting the *cura animarum*. The two chaplains maintained by the incumbent rector of Glassary in 1420 seem likely to have been parochial or auxiliary chaplains, whose role was effectively analogous with the vicar or curate and whose income was derived from parish funds.¹³³ They most likely served parishioners in one of the chapels of ease located some distance from the parish church of Kilneuair.¹³⁴ Similarly, the rector of Kilmonivaig was doubtless responsible for maintaining an auxiliary chaplain to serve the appropriated chapel of Cille Choirill (“Querelo”) in Brae-Lochaber, while seventeenth-century records concerning the outlying chapels of Kilmahumaig and Kilbride, Lochgairside, may imply that the prebendary of Kilmartin was responsible for maintaining priests here in the Later Middle Ages.¹³⁵ Kilwinning Abbey would have appointed priests to serve the chapels of Kilmory Knap and Kilmichael Inverlussa, which were annexed with Keills parish church, while Paisley Abbey did likewise for the chapel of Kilmory near Lochgilphead.¹³⁶ Within the parish churches themselves, auxiliary chaplains are recorded at Kilmodan and Kilfinan as early as 1250 and 1284 respectively, and Dunoon in 1402.¹³⁷

¹³² My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for clarifying the difficulties with this term.

¹³³ CSSR, i, 188; “Chaplain” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html [accessed 22 May 2010].

¹³⁴ The chapels could be those of Kilbride in Rhudil, and Kilmichael in Glassary, both of which are probably of thirteenth-century date. Another possibility is the medieval chapel site of Killevin, Crarae. RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, nos. 54, 63, 69.

¹³⁵ CSSR, v, no. 1127. RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, nos. 52, 64; “Achlauchrach, Glen Spean Roman Catholic Church of St Cyril”, <http://www.rcahms.gov.uk>, [accessed 24 May 2010]. Thanks go to Paula Martin and Gilbert Márkus for discussing the identity of this chapel.

¹³⁶ RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, nos. 71, 76, 77. For more on Kilmory Knap and Loch Sween, see *LMMS*, 57–59, 150–153. A rent of Kilbride in Strathlachlan granted to the Glasgow Dominicans concerned land not an alleged chapel. *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, 152, 153, 179.

¹³⁷ Appendix A, nos. 47, 68, 88. The former cases might well be beneficed; Andrew Barrell has pointed out that *capellanus* was also used to denote the beneficed in thirteenth-century sources in Scotland.

Whether this latter office was identical to the curacy of Dunoon is unclear, but the presence of perpetual chaplaincies, such as those of Holy Cross in Dunoon and the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kilmartin and Lochgoilhead parish churches, even if founded for private masses of requiem, provided parishioners with further access to the sacraments over and above the parish ministry.¹³⁸

Chaplains are also likely to have served in the numerous other chapels scattered across the diocese, though the archaeological evidence for the existence of the latter is much more abundant than documentary proof of their usage in the late medieval period. The chapel of St Bridget of Ardlamont is recorded in June 1468, while during the mid-fifteenth century Donnchadh Caimbeul of Lochawe and his son Cailean founded and endowed the chapels of St Catherine, Lochfyneside and St Ninian in "Stratholwe" (Strathorchy?) with rents for the maintenance of perpetual chaplains to "celebrate masses and other divine offices".¹³⁹ A hermitage chapel on Eilean Mòr at the mouth of Loch Sween was served by a priest in 1402, while other contemporary references to the chapel of Sanda off the southern tip of Kintyre and to the chapel of Keil, Duror, indicate their usage in the Later Middle Ages.¹⁴⁰ A chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary is also recorded in Carrick Castle on Lochgoilside in July 1540, but it is doubtful this was a characteristic feature of other West Highland castles which often had chapels located nearby.¹⁴¹ Household chaplains or familiars of

¹³⁸ CSSR, i, 226. A chaplain charged with celebrating mass in Kilmartin parish church already existed before Gill-easbuig, Earl of Argyll mortified lands to the chaplaincy in 1546, but he is named as patron in May 1576. The office was passed on to Niall Caimbeul, parson of Luing. RSS, iii, no. 1965; vii, no. 598; RMS, v, nos. 131, 2249; Appendix A, nos. 159–60. The perpetual chaplaincy at the altar of the Glorious Virgin Mary in Lochgoilhead parish church was founded by Eoin Caimbeul of Ardkinglass by 1512 and dedicated to the king and queen. RSS, i, no. 2429; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, no. 87. A perpetual chaplaincy was also founded in Kilfinan parish church in the early fourteenth century in memory of Eòghan son of Fionnlagh, an ancestor of the Ardlamont family, by Murchadh, Earl of Menteith (c. 1318–1332). *Lamont Papers*, no. 48; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, no. 61, at pp. 544 and n. 7.

¹³⁹ *Lamont Papers*, no. 48; CSSR, v, nos. 1095, 1106, dated 21 and 26 March 1466 respectively. The two merklands of Kilkatrane appear in a sasines of 4 June 1638 and 22 May 1674. AS, i, no. 538; ii, no. 621; *Geog. Coll.*, ii, 146; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, no. 93 and n. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Keil and Eilean Mòr were also endowed with lands to support a priest, who in the latter case probably also ministered the chapel of St Columba, Cove. *ALI*, no. 4; *Scotichronicon*, i, 189; Major, *History*, 37 and n. 3; James Murray MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910–14), ii, 57; *LMMS*, 148–150; *Clanranald Bk.*, 160–161; *RMS*, vi, no. 635; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, no. 250; vii, nos. 33, 94.

¹⁴¹ *HP*, iv, 28. For chaplains at St Michael Chapel in Rothesay Castle on Bute see *ER*, vols. xiii, xiv, xv, xvii, xviii, *passim*. Castle-chapels existed in Tarbert, Skipness and possibly Eilean Dearg (RCAHMS, *Argyll*, i, nos. 304, 314; vii, no. 129). However, castle-chapels could

the great magnates of Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Dòmhnail may have played a limited pastoral role serving in such chapels or as their lords travelled throughout their territories. John Major noted in the early sixteenth century that even distant communities located far from the parish church had a chance to hear divine service in the neighbouring chapels of the great magnates “because even the meanest lord keeps one household chaplain, and more, if his wealth and other provision allow it.”¹⁴² Such opportunities were doubtless facilitated by papal dispensations permitting the use of portable altars to celebrate mass and other divine offices in unconsecrated private chapels, as was the case at St Catherine Chapel on Lochfyneside.¹⁴³ This is probably the tip of the iceberg, for numerous other chapels did not leave any footprint in the contemporary record, but their usage in the later medieval period can be established either through their architectural remains,¹⁴⁴ seventeenth-century descriptive accounts,¹⁴⁵ and early modern cartography (see map 6).¹⁴⁶ More may yet remain undetected, especially if the thesis that medieval chapels tended to proliferate in larger, highland parishes is correct.¹⁴⁷ There was a wide variety of medieval chapel types and their function could directly impinge upon the regularity of formal worship and pastoral services, such as baptism and

also be found in adjacent buildings or situated close by, such as at Innis Errich on Loch Awe near Innischonaill Castle, Dunstaffnage in Lorn, and Kilbrannan near Skipness.

¹⁴² Major, *History*, 30.

¹⁴³ In March 1466 Cailean of Glenorchy received an indult to use a portable altar for the celebration of masses in St Catherine Chapel, Lochfyneside, a fragment of which was discovered there in the early 1900s. He also received grants for portable altars for himself, the Earl of Argyll and a number of other lords of Clann Chaimbeul. CSSR, v, nos. 1095, 1097, 1116; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, no. 93.

¹⁴⁴ For example, Kilbrannan and Dunstaffnage chapels. RCAHMS, *Argyll*, i, no. 277; ii, no. 243.

¹⁴⁵ For example, Cill Choluim-chille in Ledaig, Cladh Churiollan at Creagan, Auchnahanate in Lochaber and Eilean Chalum Cille on Loch Arkaig. *Geog. Coll.*, ii, 153, 516, 517, 519, 524.

¹⁴⁶ The place-name “Kilmalie” in Pont’s 1580s map probably designates a chapel at Cilmalieu in Kingairloch, while Blaeu’s 1654 *Atlas* indicates chapels at Bernera and Kilchamaig. Pont 12 (front), in Pont maps website, <http://www.nls.uk/pont/specialist/pont12r.html> [accessed 24 May 2010]; Jan Blaeu, *The Blaeu Atlas of Scotland: Theatrum orbis terrarum sive altus novus pars quinta* (Edinburgh, 2006), map nos. 21, 34.

¹⁴⁷ John Dunbar, “The Medieval Architecture of the Scottish Highlands”, in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, ed. L. Maclean (Inverness, 1981), 38–59, at 58. Nicholas Orme, “Church and Chapel in Medieval England”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 6 (1996), 75–102, at 82, makes the same point with regard to highland regions of medieval England. Thomas, “From Rome”, 351–355, argues that late medieval Hebrideans were remarkably well served with chapels.

burial, which parish churches jealously guarded.¹⁴⁸ Yet, while the exact purpose of Argyll's chapels may still prove elusive, they were unquestionably an essential ingredient of the sacred landscape and, through mass and prayer, contributed a vital role in supporting worship and the *cura animarum*, especially in the larger upland parishes.¹⁴⁹

More generally, there are signs that Argyll's unique ecclesiastical heritage enjoyed a period of material regeneration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There has been a tendency to focus on the pessimistic descriptions of the state of individual churches to the detriment of the whole picture in the wider diocese, which points to greater investment in the fabric of the Church. The ruinous state of Lochgoilhead parish church in October 1441 was, for example, not unique to Highland churches and heralded the construction of the present building which survives as a place of worship to this day.¹⁵⁰ The rich variety of religious and funerary sculpture scattered across the West Highlands attests to the piety of the elite classes, but so also do their efforts to maintain and augment the fabric of the Church. Not only did Donnchadh Caimbeul of Lochawe found Kilmun Collegiate Church as well as St Catherine Chapel near Loch Fyne, but Eoin, Lord of the Isles (d. 1387/88) reputedly founded Oronsay Priory and rebuilt the chapel of Eilean Mòr on Loch Sween, while Ardchattan Priory was substantially rebuilt in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, probably with the support of Clann Dubhghaill.¹⁵¹ Indeed, the surviving remains of many medieval parish churches and chapels in Argyll, including almost all of those in Lorn, indicate that they were subject to substantial or complete reconstruction during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁵² Less is known about further north, but the author of the seventeenth-century *Book of Clanranald* claimed that Eoin Mùideartach, chief of Clann Raghnaill (d. 1574), erected new parish churches for Kilmory, Arisaig and

¹⁴⁸ Orme, "Church and Chapel", at 82–84, 88, 92–93.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 79–80, 88. For more on typology, see Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, "Church and Community in Medieval Ireland: The Diocese of Kilfenora", *JRSAI* 125 (1995), 61–84.

¹⁵⁰ CSSR, iv, no. 819; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, vii, no. 87. For similarly-worded complaints during the 1440s, see CSSR, iv, nos. 854, 1049, and 1226.

¹⁵¹ *Clanranald Bk.*, 160–161; RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, p. 23, and no. 217. In 1538 James V commended Prior Donnchadh MacArtair (1508–1544) for restoring the church buildings. *James V Letters*, 345–346. For the association of Clann Dubhghaill with Ardchattan during the sixteenth century, see *LMMS*, 133, 135–136.

¹⁵² RCAHMS, *Argyll*, ii, pp. 23–25. In Kintyre: Killeen, Kilchousland, Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, Kilbrannan, St Ninian, Sanda (Ibid., i, pp. 22–24, and nos. 281, 277, 287, 300, 301). In Mid-Argyll and Cowal: Strathlachlan, Kilmun, Lochgoilhead and Kilneuair (Ibid., vii, nos. 75, 80, 81, 87). For Morvern: Kilcolmkill (Ibid., iii, no. 267) and below.

Kildonan on Eigg.¹⁵³ Similarly, a manuscript history of Clann Chamshroin written in the 1730s asserted that the penitent chief Eòghan mac Ailein (c. 1480–1546), upon instruction by the pope, constructed “six chappells to as many saints” (probably including Kilmallie) in Lochaber and around its bordering territories.¹⁵⁴ This trend parallels phases of rebuilding at Iona, in Wales and in Armagh diocese in Ireland from the mid-fifteenth century, and would suggest that the elite classes of late medieval Argyll were generally appreciative of the resident clergy in their parishes and supportive of the Church as a whole.¹⁵⁵

With this in mind, it is worth highlighting the observations of the Reverend Dubhghall MacDubhghaill, minister of Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich, writing in 1791:

The reformation of religion in Scotland, however necessary and beneficial in general, was productive of one evil, which could not readily be supposed to result from such a revolution. At that aera [*sic*] at least two thirds of the places formerly established for public worship were suppressed. Under the church of Rome, the people, everywhere, had easy access to the places where they were to perform their devotions, and to receive religious instruction. But, after the Reformation, owing to the scarcity of the Protestant preachers, and to the avarice of the Reformers, (particularly the laymen who conducted that revolution), so few places of worship were permitted, and these consequently so distant from one another, and so divided by mountains, rivers, and arms of the sea, as to render it extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, for the ministers to perform the duties of their office, or for the people to attend on their instructions. This was particularly the case in the province of Argyle.¹⁵⁶

The picture may only be partial, but what survives suggests that the physical structure of the Church in Argyll was enjoying a new lease of life in the later medieval period.

¹⁵³ Eoin Mùideartach also left funds for Howmore church in Uist, where he was buried in 1574. *Clanranald Bk.*, 171; Mary Miers, *The Western Seaboard: an illustrated architectural guide* (Edinburgh, 2008), 128. For more, see Denis Rixson, *Arisaig and Morar: a history* (East Linton, 2002), 47–54.

¹⁵⁴ John Drummond of Balthaldy, *The Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell, chief of the Clan Cameron, with an introductory account of the history and antiquities of that family and of neighbouring clans* (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1842), pp. xl–li (for dating), 29. The surviving remains of Kilmallie are of sixteenth-century date. Miers, *Western Seaboard*, 27.

¹⁵⁵ *LMMS*, 44, 106–109; Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates*, 22–26, 66–68; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales, c. 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1987), 120–125.

¹⁵⁶ *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, eds D.J. Withrington and I.R. Grant, 20 vols. (Wakefield, 1983), viii, 328.

CONCLUSION

The medieval Church in Argyll had deep roots within the local society it served. The bishopric, although lacking in endowment and patronage, nonetheless carried weight in Argyllshire society, and was the only local institution capable of opposing the secular nobility. Its authority was widely acknowledged and respected by both laity and clergy alike. The diocese had plenty of clergy at its disposal, many of whom were highly educated and most of whom were local Argyllshire men, which illustrates that the resident population was able to supply itself with its own men to staff the Church. This was to a degree attributable to ecclesiastics' disregard for the practice of clerical celibacy, which sometimes led to the formation of ecclesiastical lineages specialising in the Church, but it was not so extensive as to suggest that the local Church was heavily reliant upon priest-sons, or that Argyll was noticeably different from other regions of Europe in this respect. In themselves, the papal supplications convey a buoyant and tremendously competitive clerical environment in the diocese. Whether these trends conformed to a wider pattern within the late medieval Scottish Church is unknown, because there has been no systematic analysis made of the Scottish clergy as a whole. Indeed, much more scholarly research of the medieval Church and clergy at the diocesan level is required across Europe generally.

The late medieval period has been commonly presented in Scottish historiography as the era when the linguistic and cultural divide separating Gaelic Highlanders and English-speaking Lowlanders came into being, but this simple dichotomy is not reflected in the composition of the Church or the beneficed clergy in late medieval Argyll, the heartland of the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd*, which was unmistakably Scottish in character.¹ Historians anxious to emphasise the Highland/Lowland divide have been far too quick to seize on the criticisms made by bishops and kings, accepting at face value their claims concerning the poor state of the see of Argyll, 'long' episcopal vacancies and the troubles of individual bishops, without fully considering the agendas of the persons involved. It is now obvious that much of it is hyperbole, principally designed to gain a favourable

¹ Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor convincingly argue for an earlier, twelfth-century date in *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall*, chaps. 1 and 2.

response from the papacy, and not reflective of the reality on the ground in Argyll, which was little different from other situations found elsewhere in Scotland.

The revelation that a considerable number of incumbents were of Lowland origin further challenges the notion of a sharp Highland/Lowland dichotomy and, together with the influx of local Argyllshire clergy to universities in the Lowlands and abroad, provides clear evidence for the role the Church could play as a mechanism promoting interaction between Argyllshire and Lowland society. A significant number of Lowland incumbents probably could not speak Gaelic, but the relative infrequency of complaints to Rome about this suggests the consequences for the *cura animarum* were not dire.

Within the wider European context, the popularity of 'Rome-running' for papal provision effectively demolishes clichéd notions that the *Gàidhealtachd* was in any sense 'beyond the realm' of Latin Christendom and civility. True, Scotland's peculiar 'special daughter' relationship with the papacy encouraged close ties, and the immediate purpose was often self-serving, being governed by a desire for personal advancement or by local political and ecclesiastical rivalries. However, supplications were an expensive business and in themselves were no guarantee of success, yet despite this ordinary parochial churchmen still felt compelled to have recourse to Avignon and Rome to seek papal approval throughout the Later Middle Ages. Their ready engagement with the practice demonstrated not just the religious orthodoxy of Argyll, but the depth and reach of papal authority into one of the most tight-knit and localised of societies on the fringes of Western Christendom.

This survey has also offered a new ecclesiastical perspective on the relationship between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland during the medieval period. In terms of diocesan organisation and administration, there are certain features which the Church in Argyll shared with the dioceses of Sodor and Gaelic Ulster, such as the quadripartition of parochial tithes and the lack of a common chapter fund, which were less common or absent from other Scottish dioceses, but at this stage it is difficult to discern in which direction influence was flowing. Other common features, such as the practices of customary hospitality, of hereditary succession and of Classical learning, were all primarily grounded in the value system of their host societies.

There were differences, however. In contrast with Sodor and Ulster, Argyll and the other predominantly Gaelic-speaking dioceses in medieval Scotland were possessed of fully-developed cathedral chapters and an

impressive succession of dignitaries. With one exception (Saddell Abbey), there was no direct institutional mechanism within the Church to promote either regular interaction or exchange of personnel between the two regions, and it is this which is principally responsible for the rarity of Irish clergy in Argyll, and in Sodor too. This evidence certainly poses new questions for scholars that portray late medieval Scotland as a culturally and linguistically segregated country, as well as advocates of the 'Greater Gaeldom' of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland.²

There are also valuable insights into how the Church was used by the medieval secular nobility as a mechanism for solidifying or extending their lordship. In almost every instance, the collation of a non-local, whether a Gael or Lowlander, was tied to the interests of the local secular or ecclesiastical lordship. Some ecclesiastics were brought in by the bishop, but many owed their offices to the greater nobility of Clann Chaimbeul and Clann Dòmhnail, and came from regions where these kindreds were either expanding or already exercising lordship. It is clear from many instances that the Gaelic nobility used their dominant position to collate men from these regions with benefices in Argyll as a means of cementing relations in their other territories of lordship. The presence of Hebridean clergy in benefices associated with the lords of the Isles, together with their almost complete absence from the rest of the diocese, illustrates well that the political loyalty of a non-local cleric, not his cultural background, was the determining factor in his collation.

A related theme which has consistently appeared throughout is the remarkable power exercised by the greater clan chiefs of Clann Dòmhnail and Clann Chaimbeul over medieval society in the western *Gàidhealtachd*. As noble magnates, their control of ecclesiastical patronage and access to the region's natural resources could inhibit the ability of the bishops to impose their ecclesiastical authority over the diocese. However, within a Gaelic context, their status as *MacDòmhnail* and *Mac Cailein Mòr* commanded the loyalty of their own clansmen and its subordinate branches, while their claim to *Ceannas nan Gàidheal*, the ancient title to the 'headship of the Gaels' meant that they could count upon the loyalty of countless other kindreds, including, by extension, many of the native clergy. Given this context, one can readily appreciate John Carswell's respectful

² See Martin MacGregor, "Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish isles and the Stewart empire" in *The plantation of Ulster: ideology and practice*, eds. Micheál Ó Siochrá and Éamonn Ó Ciardha (Manchester, 2012), 33–54.

deference towards the fifth Earl of Argyll in his *Fiorm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, and why he departed from the Reformers' political doctrine by advocating secular governance over the Church.³ Carswell appreciated that in Gaelic society the progress of the Reformation was completely dependent upon the support of the clan chief. A parallel may be made with the power of late medieval Ó Néill dynasty in Gaelic Ulster. The political circumstances here were certainly more polarised than in Argyll, but here also the archbishops of Armagh sought to develop an appositional relationship with the great Uí Néill chiefs in order to defend the Church and enforce obedience to ecclesiastical government.⁴ Although there are some persisting doubts about whether, as in Armagh, ecclesiastical revenues were drained by the expectations of customary hospitality and exactions, Clann Dòmhnaiill were praised in one Gaelic poem composed shortly after their forfeiture as "a kindred that made no war on church".⁵ Nevertheless, it was this great power which Clann Dòmhnaiill and Clann Chaimbeul wielded within Argyll that ensured their clerical kinsman could never be considered by the Crown as serious candidates for episcopal office.

From a local perspective, it is clear that Dunoon, not Lismore, was the real headquarters of the bishops of Argyll from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. The relative inaccessibility of Lismore as a base of operations was certainly a factor in this, but it was ultimately a pragmatic decision attributable to the shift of geopolitical power within Argyll from Clann Dubhghaill in Lorn to Clann Chaimbeul in Cowal, and more widely to the increasingly close ties that were developing between Church and state in Scotland during the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For Argyll, the relocation demonstrates conclusively that Cowal and the Firth of Clyde region had become the ecclesiastical as well as the economic and political centre of the western seaboard during the Later Middle Ages.

Of course, not everything in the garden was rosy, and like anywhere else in the late medieval world, the Church in Argyll was not without problems to seek. Ecclesiastical poverty was the most pressing, for besides the commonplace costs of papal litigation, appropriation and pluralism, there were a whole host of local ways in which parochial revenues were

³ Meek and Kirk, "John Carswell", 20–21; Meek, "The Reformation and Gaelic culture", 42–47; Dawson, "The Protestant Earl", 351–352.

⁴ K. Simms, "The archbishops of Armagh and the O'Neills, 1347–1471", *Irish Historical Studies* 19 (1974), 38–55; K. Simms, "The Concordat between Primate John Mey and Henry O'Neill (1455)", *Archivium Hibernicum* 34 (1977), 71–82.

⁵ "clann nár chathuigh ar eaglais". *BDL*, 90–95.

lost. On top of episcopal dues and the partition of tithes, parish priests had to cope with societal expectations, such as the burden of customary hospitality for all comers and, if a concubinary, with supporting his family, all of which could strain finances and damage the attractiveness of these benefices, leading to a lowering of standards for the *cura animarum*. However, this would have been offset by an oversubscribed clerical class which placed a high premium upon the acquisition of benefices, and by the importance attached to individual churches by kindreds who had ancestral ties with them as their patrons, as worshippers, or as the place of burial. Ecclesiastical livings within these churches must have been endowed with greater status and prestige, especially if the holder was a kinsman. Indeed, it was these ancestral ties which undoubtedly contributed to the physical regeneration of the Church during the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as chiefs across the *Gàidhealtachd*, in common with their peers elsewhere in Europe, built burial aisles, mortuary chapels and tomb recesses so their descendants would remember and pray for them in Purgatory.

Much of what we have learned about the Church and clergy in the later medieval period indicates that it was in a far healthier condition than previous generations of scholars were willing to admit to their readers and, by extension, to themselves. What emerges most clearly from this study is the conventionality of the Church in medieval Argyll, and the extent to which the diocesan clergy conformed with and exhibited the same traits and aspirations as their colleagues elsewhere in Scotland and in wider Latin Christendom. The provision of clerical hospitality and the presence of illegitimate priest-sons in minor orders are indications of some adaptation to the economic and social expectations of local society, but that aside there is nothing significant that singles out the Church or clergy in Argyll as particularly distinctive from that elsewhere in the medieval Scottish Church, or indeed further afield. It may have lain on the edge of Christendom but the Church here was no less 'mainstream' than anywhere else in Western Europe.

APPENDIX A

PAROCHIAL *FASTI* OF THE DIOCESE OF ARGYLL TO 1560

The fasti follows the format adopted in Watt's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*: the title of each cleric gives his name and *floruit* in each benefice. Below are noted particular dates when the cleric appears in possession and/or litigation with preference being given to the earliest and latest dates they occur; dates lying between are typically omitted, with the exception of clerics in long-term possession. Unless stated otherwise, the status of the benefices agrees with Cowan's *Parishes* with further information and dating occasionally provided from the AHRC-funded People of Medieval Scotland project (<http://www.poms.ac.uk>) and W.W. Scott, *Syllabus of Scottish Cartularies: Paisley* (n.d.).

Orthography – the distinction is between lower case *mac* ('son of') and upper case *Mac* (kindred name); *mac* is used to signify the patronymic in the Latin genitive form. Surnames are first given as in source, though in cases where the spelling of an established surname differs only slightly, such as 'Cambel' or 'Lawmont', the standard modern names 'Campbell' or 'Lamont' are usually preferred. In addition, where clerics are confirmed as holding more than 1 benefice, the fullest form of their name is always favoured, e.g. "John Finlaius Prioris Macphilib" is shown as litigant for the prebend of Kilchousland because we know this figure was identical with the vicar of Kilcalmonell. Forenames and patronymics remain as they appear in the source, thus *John* remains throughout; however, in such cases where the appropriate Latin nominative and genitive forms do appear in the source, these are always favoured, e.g. *Bricius* instead of *Brice*; *Johannes* instead of *John*. As in the main text, *Johannes* / *John* is translated as Gaelic *Eoin* except where the alternative form of *Iain* occurs in the source, which is particularly noticeable among 16th-century clergy, especially those bearing the kindred name *Caimbeul* and *MacPhàil*. In the case of *Mauricius* / *Mauritius* / *Maurice*, the Gaelic names *Muireadhach* (shortened *Muireach*), *Muiris* and *Murchadh* are given as possibilities, although the latter was sometimes Latinised as *Murchardus*. Attempted translations of these names are given in brackets where there is some confidence about the likely original Gaelic names, but the reader is warned that in several instances they are conjectural. Names which cannot be

identified are italicised, while names which appear in bold signify individuals who can be definitively established as being in possession of the benefice.

Abbreviations – entries are abbreviated in the style adopted by Watt's *Fasti*, establishing as briefly as possible the evidence for an individual's succession or contestation to a benefice and, where possible, the evidence for possession.

This *fasti* owes an enormous debt to extensive and painstaking revision undertaken by Andrew Barrell, and analysis of the underlying Gaelic names by Martin MacGregor. Their information and criticisms have significantly enriched the finished version. All errors and omissions remain my own.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.	Aberdeen
abp.	archbishop, archbishopric
acc.	accused
Apos. See	Apostolic See
app.	appointed; appendix
Ar.	Argyll
archd.	archdeacon, archdeaconry
auth.	authority
B.	Brechin
ben.	benefice(s)
bp.	bishop, bishopric
C.	Caithness
c.	circa; century, centuries
Cam.	Camera
can.	canon, canonry
cf.	compare
ch.	church
chp.	chapter
coll.	collated, collation
comm.	commission, commissioned
<i>comm. priv.</i>	<i>commissio privationis</i>
compat.	compatible
conf.	confirmation
d.	died, death

Db.	Dunblane
dean.	deanery
dean. christ	deanery of Christianity
dem.	demit, demitted, demission
depriv.	deprived, deprivation
det.	detained, detention, detainee
devl.	devolved
dioc.	diocese
disp.	dispensed, dispensation
Dk.	Dunkeld
eccles.	ecclesiastical
el.	elect, elected, election
epis.	episcopal, episcopate
exch.	exchange, exchanged
exp.	expectation, expectative
fig.	figure
fol./fols.	folio/folios
forf.	forfeited
Ga.	Galloway
Glas.	Glasgow
illegit.	illegitimate, illegitimacy
incl.	included, including
incompat.	incompatible
incorp.	incorporated, incorporation
inst.	instituted, institution
legit.	legitimate, legitimated, legitimacy
lic.	licence, licensed
lit.	litigating, litigated, litigation
M.	Moray
mand.	mandate, mandated
misc.	miscellaneous
nom.	nominated, nomination
nws.	notwithstanding
O.	Orkney
occ.	occurs, occurred
offic.	official
ord.	ordinary
par.	parish
pars.	parson, parsonage

perp.	perpetual
pers. comm.	personal communication
pet.	petition(s), petitioned
poss.	possession, possessed, possessor
preb.	prebend, prebendary
prec.	precentor, precentorship
pres.	present, presented, presentation
prob.	probably
prov.	provided, provision
R.	Ross
rec.	received, receiving, reception
recoll.	recollated, recollation
rect.	rector, rectory
<i>reformatio</i>	amendment or alteration rectifying a technical flaw which vitiated the original grant
req.	request, requesting, requested
res.	resign, resigned, resignation
Sodr.	Sodor
St A.	St Andrews
succ.	succeed, succeeded, succession
surrog.	surrogate, surrogated
trans.	translated, translation; transferred
treas.	treasurer, treasurership
uncons.	unconsecrated
undisp.	undispensed
<i>unio</i>	union
univ.	university
vic.	vicar, vicarage
v. inf.	<i>vide infra</i> , see below
v. sup.	<i>vide supra</i> , see above
witn.	witnessed, witnesses

DEANERY OF GLASSARY / COWAL / DUNOON

Glassary

The par. ch. was at Kilneuair and dedicated to St Columba. The Scrymgeour constables of Dundee and barons of Glassary are identified as patrons on 24 April 1431. In Dec. 1490 the constable divided his estates and gifted

the barony of Glassary and patronage of the par. ch. to a brother. This cadet branch remained sole patrons until the estates were reunited in 1546 (Magnus Kirkby and Derek Alexander, "Excavations of a Monastic Settlement and Medieval Church Site at Killevin, Crarae Gardens, Mid-Argyll", *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 32:1 (2009), 61–105, at 64–66; *HP*, ii, 166, 178, 180–183, 188, 195, 202; *RMS*, ii, no. 2052; *CPL*, vii, part i, no. 493). A supplication of 1429 alleged that the vic. was in patronage of the rect. (*CSSR*, iii, 16).

Rectors and Prebendaries

1. Roland Lochlani / Lochan / Lachlan Lochlani / Lacabanus Person (Lachlann mac Lachlainn) 1350

Occ. 13 June 1350, allegedly holding the ch. "for many years" undisp. with dean. of Ar. (*CPP*, 201, *CPL*, iii, 361; *Cam. Ap., Collect.*, 14, fol. 163r). He was d. by 14 Nov. 1388, when said to have held ch. of "Gerlapod" along with the dean. against *Execrabilis* (*Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 44r–44v; cf. *CPP*, i, 573, dated 13 Nov.). He is identifiable as the late dean "Lochan", who on 18 Jan. 1389 allegedly had poss. the ch. of "St Columba in Gloss" (*Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 64r–64v; cf. *CPP*, i, 573, dated 19 Jan.) and also with "Lacabanus Person", who was said on 26 Aug. 1391 to have held the dean. with the par. ch. of St Columba "de Kywenne" (*Reg. Suppl.*, 78, fols. 143r–143v; cf. *CPP*, i, 576, which gives the place-name as "Kyllemine", but is garbled).

2. Lochlan Mauricii (Lachlann mac Mhurchaidh / Mhuireadhaigh / Mhuirich) 1350

Pet. for rect. 13 June 1350, void as Lachlan mac Lachlainn held it undisp. with dean. (v. sup.).

3. Gilbert Machperson / MacPerson (Gille-Brighde Mac a'Phearsain) 1411, 1420

On 16 May 1411 he was can. of Ar. and preb. of Kilmelfort and vic. of Glassary (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 236). On 13 Aug. 1411 he req. that the par. ch. of Kilmelfort be united to his can. and preb., nws. that he also poss. the par. ch. of Glassary, which could refer either to the rect. or vic. of Glassary (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 243–244). Rec. disp. for *unio* with the vic. of Glassary, 13 Feb. 1420; 19 April 1420 req. to hold vic. and rect. together for life (*CSSR*, i, 173, 188; *CPL*, vii, 156). Later alleged to have held the vic. and rect. together without disp. for over 4 years (*CSSR*, ii, 10–11). D. by 5 Sept. 1421 (*CSSR*, i, 258–259).

4. James Scrymgeour 1421–1425

Occ. 5 Sept. 1421 when, as rect. of Dunnottar, he req. new prov. to Glassary. He also asked for disp. for a vic. to act as substitute as he was “not learned in the language of the country” of the par. ch. (*CSSR*, i, 258–259). On 9 Feb. 1423 said to have been in poss. for 1 and a half years (*CPL*, vii, 266). On 9 March 1423 acc. of det. poss. while not being able to speak the language (*CSSR*, ii, 10–11). Still in poss. but now involved in lawsuit over the ben. while in *Curia* on 27 March 1425 and again 26 June 1425 when he disclosed his agreement to res. Glassary upon assecution of the dean. of Ab. (*CSSR*, ii, 80, 98–99; *CPL*, vii, 404). He was a brother of Sir John, Constable of Dundee, who succ. in 1411 and d. in 1466 (Munro and Munro, *Scrimgeours*, 32, 36).

5. Nigel Colini Campbell (Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul) 1426

Archd. of Ar. 1395–1437, and perp. vic. of Kilfinan; pet. for rect. on 9 Feb. 1423 (*CPL*, vii, 266). Required *reformatio* on 9 March 1423 (*CSSR*, ii, 10–11). Rec. coll. by ord. auth. and allegedly in poss. by 27 June 1426, when vic. of Kilfinan said to be void by peaceful assecution of par. ch. of Glassary by Caimbeul (*CSSR*, ii, 141).

6. Robert Scrymgeour 1427–1436

Occ. on 6 March 1428, claiming poss. less than 1 year, and occ. again on 13 July 1428 (*CSSR*, ii, 195, 228). On 11 March 1431 rec. disp. to hold rect. with any other ben. (*CPL*, viii, 380). Occ. 13 Sept. 1432, when ben. now erected as preb. (*CSSR*, iii, 254–255). In poss. of preb. 23 May 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 302). Precise date of d. is unknown, but he was d. by 10 July 1445, when incorrectly named as James Scrymgeour, late rect. This is corrected to Robert in a later *reformatio* (*CSSR*, iv, nos. 1228, 1236). Also rect. of Dunnottar between 1432 and 1436 (v. sup.).

7. Hercules Scrymgeour 1436 × 1439–1452

Occ. 23 Jan. 1451, when in poss. for over 12 years, and acc. of perjury, of dilapidating and consuming the goods of the can. and preb. (*CPL*, x, 470). Occ. again on 29 Aug. 1452 on Lismore when preb. was subject of epis. court. Said to have had peaceable poss. for 15 years (*AC*, 167–169).

8. Godfrey Godfridi Doncani / Gotheray MacForsan (Gofraidh mac Ghofraidh mhic Dhonnchaidh Mac a'Phearsain) 1451, 1454

Perp. vic. of Kilberry; obtained papal prov. to preb. on 23 Jan. 1451 against incumbent (v. sup.). Occ. as "Gotheray McForsan" on 29 Aug. 1452 (*AC*, 167–169). On 3 April 1454 acc. of "unjustly" hindering peaceful poss. of the preb. by Alexander Scrymgeour (v. inf.).

9. Alexander Scrymgeour 1454–1467 × 1471

On 3 April 1454 he stated he had been coll. to the can. and preb. by ord. auth., and acc. Gofraidh of hindering peaceful poss. (*CPL*, x, 692). Occ. as rect. of Glassary and Forteviot on 3 Nov. 1460 (*St A. Acta*, 140). Designated "Canonicus Lesmoren[is]" and brother of James, Constable of Dundee (d. 1504), on 11 Jan. 1467 (*NAS GD137/769*). Perhaps res. ben. by 1471 when pet. for vic. of Tarves, dioc. Ab. and monastery of Arbroath in 1472 (*CSSR*, vi, nos. 19, 59, 61).

10. John Scrymgeour 1475

Occ. as can. and preb. of "Claster", dioc. Ar., 11 June 1475 (*NAS GD45/16/3047*).

11. James Scrymgeour 1492–1500

An instrument records his inst. and coll. to the rect. of "Killenewer" on 19 Feb. 1492 (*Scrymgeour Inventory*, no. 314). He res. the ben. by 18 Feb. 1500, when he was distinguished from his successor and namesake, who was coll. on that day, by the designation "clerk of Brechin" (*Scrymgeour Inventory*, no. 329).

12. Thomas Fife 1495

Pres. and invested in the rect. and preb. by bp. of Ar. in Glas., 2 July 1495 (*HP*, ii, 194–196).

13. James Scrymgeour 1500–1533

Pres. and invested by proxy by vic. on 8 Feb. 1500, and coll. is recorded on 18 Feb. 1500 (*HP*, ii, 198–201; *Scrymgeour Inventory*, no. 329). Occ. as rect. of "Kyllenewer" on 2 March 1501; and as can. of Ar., 20 Feb. 1511 and 25 Oct. 1511 (*CPL*, xvii, no. 493; *RMS*, ii, nos. 3554, 3657). Named rect. of Glassary and as son of Master John Scrymgeour, Lord of Glassary, 24 Feb. 1513 (*ibid.*, no. 3817). Occ. as can. of Ar. 15 June 1524 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1815, fols. 273v–74r), and 5 Feb. 1525 (*Registrum Aberbrothoc*, ii, no. 588). Occ. as can. of Ar. 1 March 1530, he was a younger brother of the second John of Glassary (*RMS*, iii, no. 902; Munro and Munro, *Scrimgeours*, 32; *SP*, iii, 309–310). Occ. as rect.

of Glassary, 9 April 1529, 12 Aug. 1531 and 22 March 1532 and was chief almoner before 20 Feb. 1530 (*RMS*, iii, nos. 773, 1052; *James V Letters*, 168, 218). Named as king's "familiar clerk" on 20 Sept. 1532, and d. on royal business in Flanders before 13 Sept. 1533 (*James V Letters*, 229, 232, 249; *Registrum Aberbrothoc*, ii, no. 782).

Rector and Vicar

14. Henry Scrimgeour × 1572

John Durkan ("Henry Scrimgeour, renaissance bookman", *Edinburgh Bibliographical Transactions*, 5.1 (1978), 1–31, at 10) suggests he may have been in poss. of the rect. by 1552. On 12 April 1572, "Mr Henry Scrymgeour, parson and vicar of Glaster" issued letters in favour of his nephew, "to intromit with the maills and duties pertaining to the parsonage and vicarage of Glaster" (*ibid.*, 20; NAS, GD137/4036). On 14 July 1573 his brother, acting as Henry's factor, acknowledged receipt of all rents of the pars. and vic. of Glassary up to the previous Feb. (Durkan, "Henry Scrimgeour", 20). His d. is recorded as 23 Sept. 1572, although record of a letter advises the Constable of Dundee to make prov. to the pars. and vic. following the d. of "Mr Henry Scrymgeour, parson of Glassarie" on 4 Oct. (*ibid.*, 21 and n. 136, giving date of 1 Oct.; NAS GD137/4016).

15. John Scrymgeour alias Quhyte / John Whyte alias Scrymgeour 1570–1606(?)

Occ. 22 April "anno iv lx ten", when directed to be infetted in poss. of rect. (*Scrymgeour Inventory*, no. 299). The stylisation is very garbled, but he prob. succ. Henry Scrimgeour; a "John Whyte" occ. as rect. in 1575 (Scott, *Fasti*, viii, 312) and a "John Whyte alias Scrymgeour" occ. as pars. and vic. of Kilmichael and "Killneuar" on 23 Aug. 1606 (*HP*, ii, 211).

Vicars

16. Adam (Àdhamh) c. 1350 × 1355

Occ. in charter dated c. 1350 × 1355 (AT, at date).

17. Gilbert Machperson / MacPerson (Gille-Brighde Mac a'Phearsain) 1409–1411 × 1420

Occ. 11 Dec. 1409 when also rect. of Kilmelfort (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 214–215). On 16 May 1411 rec. disp. to hold both ben. with 1 other incompat. ben., but would have to res. either it or the perp. vic. of Glassary within 3 years (*ibid.*, 236). 13 Feb. 1420 rec. disp. for *unio* with the rect.; 19 April 1420

req. to hold vic. and rect. together for life (CSSR, i, 188). D. by 5 Sept. 1421 (CSSR, i, 258–259). 9 March 1423 alleged to have held the vic. and rect. together without disp. for over 4 years, so may have held rect. and vic. together since 1416 (CSSR, ii, 10–11).

18. Martin Makillandis / Martini (Màrtainn mac Mhàrtainn MacGill-Anndrais) 1420

Occ. 13 Feb. 1420, when vic. allegedly vacant due to non-promotion to priesthood, or about to be vacant by assecution of Kilmonivaig par. ch. (CSSR, i, 173; CPL, vii, 156). Prob. identical with “Martin Martini”, who obtained new prov. to the rect. of Kilmonivaig on 12 Feb. 1420 (CSSR, i, 171).

19. John Makorquedal (Eoin MacCòrcadail) × 1429

Named late perp. vic. on 7 May 1429 (v. inf.).

20. Malcolm Philippi (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Philib) 1429

Occ. 7 May 1429 when req. new prov. following pres. by the rect. (CSSR, iii, 16–17).

21. Robert Scrymgeour 1500

Occ. 8 Feb. 1500 (HP, ii, 198–201).

22. James Scrymgeour × 1559

Named as last perp. vic. on 17 July 1559 (v. inf.).

23. George Scott 1559

Pres. to the vic. by the patron and coll. by vic. general of Ar. on 17 July 1559 (HP, ii, 201–204; *Scrymgeour Inventory*, no. 312).

Chaplains

24. [...] Quhyt 1500

Occ. 8 Feb. 1500 (HP, ii, 199).

Kilfinan

In a charter of 1232 × 1241, Donnchadh son of Fearchar and Lagmann son of Maol-Coluim granted the ch. with all its just pertinents, to Paisley Abbey in pure and perp. alms, along with all rights which they claimed in the ch. due to patronage; corporeal poss. was given to the abbey in

Sept. 1250, saving the fourth part of the epis. mensa or the archd., and the vic., also taxed at a fourth of the tithes (*Pais. Reg.*, 132, 134). Patronage of the vic. also resided with the abbey. Eoin MacLaghmainn unsuccessfully sought the reversion of this grant in 1465 (*CSSR*, v, no. 1025).

Rectors

25. Nechten (Neachtan) 1232 × 1241

Occ. as rect. of "Killinan" in charter granting ch. to Paisley, dated 1232 × 1241, possibly before 1236 (*Pais. Reg.*, 132).

Vicars

26. Mauricius (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris) 1232 × 1236–1250

Occ. in undated document of 1232 × 1236 (*Pais. Reg.*, 135–136) and on 27 Sept. 1250 as offic. of Ar. and perp. vic. of said ch. (*Pais. Reg.*, 134).

27. Malmor called Hobolan (Maol-Moire Hobolan) 1268

Named perp. vic. on feast of St John the Baptist (16 June or 27 Aug.) 1268 when acc. in court of having unjustly depriv. Paisley Abbey of their chapel and pennyland of Kilmory in Lochgilphead (*Pais. Reg.*, 139–140).

28. Fynlaius (Fionnlagh) 1295

Occ. 23 July 1295 as perp. vic. of "Kyllinan" and chaplain to James the Steward of Scotland (*Pais. Reg.*, 138–139).

29. Godfrey McPerson / Godfredus Duncani Lagmanin / Goffred Lamaniy / Goffredus Lamamni (Gofraidh Mac a'Phearsain / Gofraidh mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Laghmainn) × 1391–1409

As Godfrey McPerson occ. 17 June 1391, when acc. of having det. vic. "for several years" without promotion to priesthood (v. inf.). As Godfredus Duncani Lagmanin acc. of the same irregularity on 11 Nov. 1409, having been coll. 12 years earlier, but without being disp. for legal impediment or promotion to priesthood. Unclear whether he was still in poss. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 212). Prob. father of Gofredus Goffredi Duncani, vic. of Kilberry, who also occ. as "Gotheray MacForsan" (v. inf., Kilberry). For the name "Lamaniy" or "Lamamni" see GUS, PRO Transcripts Resignations Series A (1423–1523), PRO31/9/27, 319, fol. 243r; *CPL*, viii, 473).

30. Nicholas Macolini 1391

Pet. 17 June 1391 upon grounds specified above and claiming to be a scholar of can. law at Paris. (*Reg. Suppl.* 78, fol. 106r).

31. Celestinus Celestini Macgillemichael (Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1409

A papal familiar, he rec. prov. to “parish church of St Finan in Kerwo” on 11 Nov. 1409 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 212). Still has prov. on 9 and 11 Dec. 1409 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 213–215). Poss. unknown.

32. Nigel Colini Campbell (Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul) 1423–1426 × 1437

Occ. 9 Feb. 1423, when he was to res. ben. upon obtaining rect. of Glassary. By 5 March 1423 the ben. was allegedly vacant by his prov. to rect. of Glassary, which occ. by 27 June 1426 (*CSSR*, ii, 7–8, 141; *CPL*, vii, 266, 268). Named late vic. 5 Aug. 1441, the ben. vacant by his d. or a simoniacal pact. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 792). Still named as the late vic. on 6 June 1450, which perhaps suggests he was the last *de facto* poss. before MacAilpein. (*CSSR*, v, no. 353).

33. Celestinus Celestini MacGillemichael (Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1423

Pet. for vic. 5 March 1423 (*CSSR*, ii, 7–8; cf. *HP*, iv, 176–178, where the date is 6 March 1423). Rec. reservation of ben., in exp. of prov. of Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul to Glassary, on 20 March 1423 (*CPL*, vii, 268).

34. Thomas Brown 1426

Pet. 27 June 1426, nws. his perp. chaplaincy of St Nicholas, dioc. Glas. (*CSSR*, ii, 141). Perhaps identifiable as rect. of Inchcailloch in 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 261).

35. John MacAlpine (Eoin MacAilpein) 1441–1448

Occ. 5 Aug. 1441 when req. new prov. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 792). Exch. ben. for perp. vic. of Lochgoilhead before 6 June 1450 (*CSSR*, v, no. 353).

36. Robert Dewar (Raibeart Mac an Deòir) 1448–1452 × 1454

Obtained by exch. with MacAilpein and was prov. by bp. of Ar., sometime before 30 Oct. 1448 (*CSSR*, v, no. 353; *AT*, at date). Occ. 6 July 1452 (*ibid.*). Held vic. until his d. before 26 Nov. 1454 (*CPL*, x, 697–698).

37. John Guardnar 1454

Occ. 26 Nov. 1454, following pres. by Paisley Abbey and coll. by bp. of Ar., it being void by d. of Raibeart Mac an Deòir. He rec. new prov. and disp. as he could not “perfectly speak nor understand” the local idiom, nws. papal constitutions to the contrary (*CPL*, x, 697–698).

38. John Frog 1467

Already obtained prov. by ord. auth. when on 17 June 1467 req. new prov. to perp. vic. Req. disp. as he could not “perfectly understand nor speak” the local idiom (*CSSR*, v, no. 1194).

39. Alexandrus Steward 1500

Occ. as vic. of “Kyllenane” 14 Aug. 1500 (*Pais. Reg.*, 357). Alternatively, it is possible that this refers to the ch. of Killallan in Renfrewshire.

40. Archibald Leiche (Gill-easbuig Lighiche) × 1529

Named late vic. 23 Sept. 1529 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1989, fols. 256r–56v). He was chancellor of Ar. between 30 July 1501 and 31 Aug. 1516 (*AT*, at dates).

41. Robert Barry × 1529

Archd. of Ar. He was evidently still alive on 29 Oct. 1528, but was named late archd. and vic. of “Killenane”, 9 Nov. 1529 and 3 Oct. 1531 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1955, fols. 97v–98r; 1992, fols. 262v–263r; 2059, fol. 34r).

42. Henry(?) John [Makcaw(?)] 1529

Pet. for ben. along with archd. following Barry’s d., on 9 Nov. 1529 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1992, fols. 262v–263r).

43. Archibald MacCarbre / Makcarbry (Gill-easbuig MacCairbre) 1529–1542

Pet. 23 Sept. 1529 and 3 Oct. 1531 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1989, fols. 256r–56v; 2059, fol. 34r). He is registered as d. 28 June 1542 and is named as late vic. in a pet. of 10 Sept. 1542 (*BBT*, 121; *Reg. Suppl.*, 2469, fol. 216v).

44. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1542–1543

Pet. 10 Sept. 1542; reaches agreement with litigant Hamilton on 14 Jan. 1543 and maintains poss. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2469, fol. 216v; 2477, fols. 77r–77v).

45. John Hamilton 1543

Occ. 14 Jan. 1543 when he agreed to cede ben. to Caimbeul in return for annual pension (v. sup.). Perhaps same fig. who was vic. general of Ar. and subchanter of Glas. on 17 July 1559 (*HP*, ii, 201–204).

46. Alexander Tait × 1575

Res. ben. 19 Feb. 1575. Possibly a monk of Paisley (Haws, *Clergy*, 124).

Chaplains

47. Mauricius (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris) 1284

Occ. 2 Sept. and 7 Sept. 1284 (*Pais. Reg.*, 124).

48. John Lamont (Eoin MacLaghmainn) 1569

Occ. 4 May 1569 (*RMS*, v, no. 2095).

Clerks

49. Nigellus Dewar (Niall Mac an Deòir) 1481

Occ. 25 May 1481 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 63).

50. John Lamont (Eoin MacLaghmainn) 1500

Occ. 26 Aug. 1500 as “clerk of Killenen”, and brother of Eoin MacLaghmainn of Inneryne (*ibid.*, no. 83).

51. Angus Lamont (Aonghas MacLaghmainn) 1536

Occ. 14 April 1536 (*ibid.*, no. 130).

Parish Clerk

52. John Lamont (Eoin MacLaghmainn) 1536

Occ. 27 Aug. 1536 (*ibid.*, no. 135).

Kilmodan

Rect. was in patronage of Robert III in 1396 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 64).

Rectors and Prebendaries

53. Nicholas (Nical / Cailean) 1299

Occ. 29 Oct. 1299 (*Pais. Reg.*, 131).

54. Maurice Clerici (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac a'Chlèirich)
× 1390

Occ. posthumously as rect. on 16 June 1396. Allegedly held poss. for over 1 year without promotion to priesthood or disp. (v. sup). Perhaps identifiable with treas. of Ar., who d. at least 4 years before 5 Dec. 1390 (*CPL Clement VII*, 158).

55. Duncan de Bute / Duncan Meckaodich de But (Donnchadh Meckaodich of Bute) × 1392

Named last rect. 9 June 1392, having res. into hands of bp. (v. inf.); named again 16 June 1396 (v. inf.).

56. Malcolm Cristini (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Ghille-Chríost)
1392

Rec. papal prov. on 9 June 1392, having been coll. by bp. (*CPL Clement VII*, 174). He was not recognised as last rect. on 16 June 1396, so poss. seems doubtful (v. sup.).

57. Nigel Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1396

Rec. papal prov. 16 June (16 Kal. July) 1396 following pres. by Robert III and inst. by Bp. Eoin of Ar. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 64.). Prob. same fig. as Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul, archd. of Ar.

58. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1420–1425

Occ. 13 June 1420, when he rec. disp. to hold any eccles. ben. (*CSSR*, i, 210). Occ. 11 March 1425 as can. and preb. of Kilmodan and the rect. of Lochgoilhead by virtue of the said disp. He was the illegit. son of a noble subdeacon (*CPL*, vii, 378–379).

59. James Fleming 1531

Occ. 17 June 1531 (NLS, Adv. MS.19.2.20, p. 79).

60. Jacobus Striviling (James Stirling) × 1542, 1554

Res. rect. 15 April 1542 (*RSS*, ii, no. 4595). Named as rect. on 30 Oct. 1554 (*RSS*, iv, no. 2833), although he may not have been in poss. by this date, or even still alive.

61. Robert Lamont (Raibeart MacLaghmainn) 1542–1552, 1556–1558

Royal pres. on res. of Stirling on 15 April 1542 (*RSS*, ii, no. 4595). Occ. 6 July 1552, when, as last poss., he res. preb. (*RSS*, iv, no. 1646). Still associ-

ated with said preb. on 30 Dec. 1552 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2758, fol. 287v). Occ. as rect. 16 May 1556 and 31 Dec. 1557 (AT, at dates). Held preb. until d. before 9 Dec. 1558 (RSS, v, no. 526). Chancellor of the Chapel Royal of Stirling, 1552 to 1557, and provost of Kilmun, 28 Aug. 1557 and 26 Dec. 1557 (*Fasti*, 438, 472).

62. Andreas Disert 1552

Royal pres. 6 July 1552. This was a three-way exch. of ben. with Raibeart MacLaghmainn and Michael Disert, who res. chancellorship of the Chapel Royal of Stirling on same day (RSS, iv, nos. 1645, 1646).

63. Walter Lamont (Bhaltair MacLaghmainn) 1558–1595

Royal pres. on the d. of his brother, Raibeart, on 9 Dec. 1558. D. before 12 Aug. 1595 (RSS, v, no. 526; Haws, *Clergy*, 130).

Vicars

64. Gilbert Corry 1531

Occ. 25 Aug. 1531 (Fraser, *Montomeries*, 116–117). Prob. from Corrie family from either Dumfriesshire or Ayr (*Surnames*, 172).

65. James Walker 1545

Occ. 9 Mar. 1545 (Haws, *Clergy*, 130). “Sir James Walcar” was chaplain of William Cunningham, Master of Glencairn on 8 Feb. 1536 (Fraser, *Montomeries*, ii, 125).

66. James Lindesay 1558

Occ. 14 June 1558 (v. inf.).

67. Archibald Cunningham 1558

Pet. 14 June 1558 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2942, fol. 294v).

Chaplains

68. Johannes (Eoin) 1250

Occ. 27 Sept. 1250 (*Pais. Reg.*, 134).

Inverchaolain

Patronage of vic. belonged to Fail Trinitarian House. An attempted reversion in 1465 by Eoin MacLaghmainn was unsuccessful (*Parishes*, 88; CSSR, v, no. 1025).

*Rectors***69. Robertus de Ellesham (Robert of Elsham)** 1232 × 1236

Occ. as pars. of “Inverkelan” in undated charter of 1232 × 1236 (*Pais. Reg.*, 136). The second name refers to Elsham, Lincolnshire, and he thus appears to be distinct from Robert of Eaglesham, chaplain of Alexander, son of Walter the Steward of Scotland (see PoMS, <http://www.poms.ac.uk/db/record/person/3438/> and person 12254).

*Vicars***70. Finlay / Fenlaius Arturi (Fionnlagh mac Artair)** 1431–1453

Occ. 24 June 1431 (AT, at date) and 24 Jan. 1453 (*CPL*, x, 606).

71. Duncan Johannis (Donnchadh mac Eoin) 1456

Occ. 29 Jan. 1456 (AT, at date). Perhaps identical with “Duncan Johannis Beg”, can. of Kilmun, 6 July 1452 (*ibid.*).

72. Archibald Patricii (Gill-easbuig mac Phàdraig) × 1468

Named late perp. vic. 9 April 1484 (v. inf.).

73. William Balzi / Belli (Baillie) 1468 × 1472–1484

Coll. and prov. by ord. and in poss. 12 to 16 years before 9 April 1484, when acc. of uncanonical det. as he could “not understand nor speak” the local idiom (*CPL*, xiii, 172; *CSSR*, vi, no. 1005).

74. John Macyliss (Eoin Macyliss) 1484

Occ. 9 April 1484 when pet. against Baillie (v. sup.).

75. Robert Maxwell 1549

Occ. 1549 (Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 23, 157).

76. John Lamont (Eoin MacLaghmainn) × 1574

D. before 26 Oct. 1574 (*RSS*, vi, no. 2719). Perhaps identifiable with priest named on 25 Oct. 1559 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 217).

*Curates***77. Donald McClowe (Dòmhnall McClowe)** 1549

Occ. 1549 (Haws, *Clergy*, 112). However, *curatus* was sometimes used to denote the incumbent ben. who served the cure around this date, although there is no evidence to confirm or deny this. A vic. occ. in the same year,

but it is uncertain if they were contemporaneous (Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.).

Dunoon

Rect. named as in lay patronage in 1391 and 1396, and in royal patronage in 1453 when annexed to epis. *mensa* (*CPL Clement VII*, 165; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 65, 65–66; *RMS*, ii, no. 3136). The ch. was still attached to epis. *mensa* on 27 Oct. 1498 (*CPL*, xvii, part ii, no. 105).

Rectors

78. Lambertus 1270–1272

Occ. 12 Oct. 1270 and 12 Dec. 1272 (*Pais. Reg.*, 190, 233).

79. Finlaius (Fionnlagh) 1283 × 1286

Occ. in undated charter of 1283 × 1286 (*Pais. Reg.*, 254).

80. Angus de Congallis / de Ergadia (Aonghas of Cowal / of Argyll)
1343

Occ. 15 Jan. 1343, when willing to res. on prov. Liston [Kirkliston] par. ch., dioc. St A. He lit. for bp. of Ar. between 1342 and 1344, but was d. by 20 Dec. 1344 (*CPL*, iii, 82, 148; *Fasti*, 35).

81. Donald Makcayl / Makecayli (Dòmhnall MacKayl) × 1387

Named late rect. 16 June 1391, when he was said to have d. in poss. during epis. of Bp. Màrtainn of Ar. [1342–1382 × 1387]. It lay vacant “for a long time” after his d. (v. inf.; *Fasti*, 35).

82. John Alexandri Macmocham / Macinohham (Eoin mac Alasdair Macmocham) × 1391

Occ. 16 June 1391 when said to have held ben. at some point for over 1 year without being ordained (*CPL Clement VII*, 165). D. before 27 June 1396 (v. inf.).

83. Maurice Johannis (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Eoin)
× 1387–1423

Prov. by Bp. Màrtainn of Ar. on “his own authority” as lay patron was negligent, nws. defect of age at 22 years. On 16 June 1391 req. new prov. after having held rect. over 1 year without promotion to priesthood and was forced to res. the ben. before being recoll. (*CPL Clement VII*, 165). On

19 April 1396 paid 10 florins for absolution from excommunication incurred by not paying annates at the agreed date, but claimed to have paid subsequently (*Cam. Ap., Annatae, Int. et. Ex.*, 372, fol. 11r; C. Burns, "Sources of British and Irish history in the Instrumenta Miscellanea of the Vatican Archives", *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 9 (1971), 7–41, no. 304; Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.). On 27 June 1396 res. and recoll. to the ben. (*Benedict XIII*, 65–66). App. papal chaplain 20 Nov. 1409 and still in poss. 20 Feb. 1423 (*HP*, iv, 158–159; *CPL*, vii, 313).

84. Alexander (Alasdair) 1432–1440

Occ. 12 June 1432 and 12 March 1440 (*AT*, at date). Perhaps identical to "Sir Alexander Dewar", can. of Kilmun, 6 July 1452.

85. David Reid 1452–1453

Occ. 6 July 1452 (*AT*, at date); incorp. at Glas. Univ. 28 Dec. 1452 (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 60). Prob. res. ben. 29 Oct. 1453, when it was granted to bp. of Ar. (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136; *CSSR*, v, no. 852).

86. George Lauder, bp. of Ar. 1453–1473

Granted in perpetuity to bp. of Ar. and his successors by James II on 29 Oct. 1453 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136). 30 June 1461 alleged to have uncanonically annexed the rect. to *mensa* and det. it for some 2 years following d. of James II and to have refused to admit the pres. of "Archibald Gilberti Eugenii" to the ben. (*ibid.*, 604–605; *CSSR*, v, no. 852). On 6 March 1462 rec. papal conf. of James II's grant of the ch., and of its union "in perpetuity" to the epis. *mensa* (*CPL*, xi, 691). Rec. papal conf. again on 26 June 1465 (*CSSR*, v, no. 1017). Occ. in poss. of the mensal ch. 25 Sept. 1471 and 19 May 1473 (*NLS Adv MS* 19.2.23, fols. 6r–6v, 13v).

87. Archibald Gilberti Eugenii (Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-Brìghde mhic Eòghainn) 1461

Pet. 30 June 1461 claiming patronage belonged to eldest son of king; pres. by James III but refused coll. by bp. (*CPL*, xi, 604–605). He was previously involved in a lawsuit over this ch. with David Reid, but had res. his claim before rec. this later prov. Perhaps identical with "Celestinus McEver/McEwen", vic. of Kilmartin (v. inf.). A "Celestinus McEwyn" also witn. a pres. by the bp. of Ar. in Dunoon par. ch. on 25 Sept. 1471 (*NLS Adv MS* 19.2.23, fol. 6r–6v).

*Chaplains / Curates***88. Donald (Dòmhnall)** 1402

Occ. 4 April 1402 (AT, at date)

89. [...] 1489

On 4 Feb. 1489 the unnamed curates of the ch. of Dumbarton, Dunoon and Kilmun were all app. sub-delegates of the pope to threaten Bp. Raibeart of Ar. with excommunication (*Pais. Reg.* 152–156; *OPS*, 2:1, 63).

90. Archibald Cunninghame 1548

Occ. as “curate of Dwnone” 7 Aug. 1548 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 179. For the ambiguous usage of *curatus*, v. sup., no. 77).

Kilmun

There is no record of the clergy who held this ch. before its erection as a college. Patronage of provostry and prebends belonged to Earl of Ar. (CSSR, v, no. 1067). For provost list see *Fasti*, 472–473. The following are corrections:

*Provosts***91. Iain Dewar (Iain Mac an Deòir)** 1489–1511

Occ. 9 June 1489 (AT, at date). Still in poss. 30 July 1511 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3622).

92. John / Iain Campbell (Iain Caimbeul) 1555

Occ. 31 Jan. 1555 when as “John, Prior or perpetual commendator of Ardchattan, and Provost of Kilmore [*sic.* Kilmun]” he was empowered by the abp. of St A. to inquire into a grant by the bp. of Sodr. (NAS, RH6/1639). He was still in poss. in 1557, but not to be confused with his namesake and successor (*Fasti*, 472).

93. Robert Lamont (Raibeart MacLaghmainn) 1557

“Master Robert Lawmound” occ. as provost of Kilmun on 28 Oct. 1557 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 1443) not 28 Aug. as stated in *Fasti*, 472. My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for this reference.

94. John / Iain Campbell (Iain Caimbeul) 1559–1573

Occ. 12 May 1559 (AT, at date). He was already holding the treas. of Ar. on 16 May 1556, and the rect. of Lochgoilhead in 1559 and was still in poss. of

all of these in the month of his d., dated to 18 Sept. 1573 (AT, at date; *Fasti*, 46, 472). Brother of fifth Earl of Ar. (AT, dated 12 May 1559).

Canons / Chaplains / Curates

95. Peter Wilson, provost

96. Alexander Dewar (Alasdair Mac an Deòir)

97. Donald McGrade (Dòmhnall MacBrádaigh(?))

98. Duncan Johannis Beg (Donnchadh mac Eoin Bhig)

99. Duncan Lyndesay

100. Duncan MacMolane (Donnchadh Mac a'Mhaoilein)

101. John Baxter

102. Thomas Spens

All the above occ. as witn. at Kilmun on 6 July 1452 (AT, at date; see also *RMS*, iv, no. 791). The original constitution for the college was for 5 chaplaincies, 1 of which was to be provost and 1 chaplain for the cure. Here there are 8 chaplains altogether, incl. the provost (*CSSR*, iv, no. 791). Chaplains John Baxter and Alasdair Mac an Deòir also occ. at Kilmun on 24 Sept. 1471 (NLS Adv MS 19.2.23).

The appearance of John of Dingwall “parsoun of Kilmon”, on 6 Feb. 1475 is presumably a garbled reference to the lands of Kildun near Dingwall, which belonged to the Dingwalls of Kildun (*ALI*, 166–168, 253).

103. [...] 1489

4 Feb. 1489 the unnamed curates of the churches of Dumbarton, Dunoon and Kilmun were all app. sub-delegates of the pope to threaten Bp. Raibeart of Ar. with excommunication (*Pais. Reg.* 152–156; *OPS*, 2:1, 63).

104. Archibald McIlkewanisch (Gill-easbuig MacMaolChoinnich(?)) 1527
Occ. 16 July 1527 (AT, at date).

Officer

105. Iain MakNeill (Iain MacNéill) 1497

Named “officer of Kilmon”, 11 Dec. 1497 (AT, at date).

Strathlachlan

This ch. first appears in an arbitration of 24 Jan. 1527, regarding a dispute between Eoin MacLaghmainn and Lachlann MacLachlainn and appears to have formerly belonged to Paisley Abbey (*Lamont Papers*, no. 104). There are no confirmed records of pre-Reformation clergy associated with this ch., though it is possible that some clergy listed under Kilmore in Lorn may actually apply to this ch.

Strachur

There are no records of clergy associated with this ch. before 8 Feb. 1552. (AT, at date).

Rectors

106. Iain Makkeacharne (Iain MacEacharna) 1552

Occ. 8 Feb. 1552 (AT, at date).

Lochgoilhead

Patronage of rect. belonged to “Colin Cambel” (prob. Cailean, Lord of Lochawe) in 1392; annexed to Kilmun in 1441 (*CPL Clement VII*, 175; *CSSR*, iv, no. 791). In 1441 patronage of the vic. disputed between bp. and an unidentified party (prob. the Lord of Lochawe), but in 1488 patronage was asserted as belonging to “certain ecclesiastical persons” (*CSSR*, iv, no. 823; vi, no. 1480). Papal conf. of annexation on 5 Aug. 1441 implied that Lochgoilhead and Glenorchy were each served by a rect. and a vic.

Rectors

107. John de Congallis (Eoin of Cowal) 1380 × 1392

Occ. 5 May 1380 (*CPL Clement VII*, 45; *CPL*, iv, 238). On 9 June 1392 rec. new prov. to rect. vacant by trans. of “John Malcolm” to Lochawe par. ch. He was pres. by lay patron and inst. by Bp. Màrtainn of Ar. (*CPL Clement VII*, 175; Boardman, *Campbells*, 103, 114, n. 45).

108. John Malcolm × 1392

Named former rect. 9 June 1392, before being trans. to Lochawe (v. sup.). Possibly identifiable with “John Malcolmi”, vic. of Kilmore.

109. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1425

Preb. of Kilmodan and can. of Ar. Occ. 11 March 1425 when pet. for disp. for another 4 to 6 ben. with or without cure. (*CPL*, vii, 378–379).

110. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1559–1574

Occ. while provost of Kilmun on 31 Jan. 1559 (Haws, *Clergy*, 165). He was also treas. of Ar. at this time (*Fasti*, 46).

*Vicars***111. Malcolm Maceoguyn / Duncani (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Dhonnchaidh MacEòghainn)** × 1395

Occ. posthumously on 17 March 1405. Father of “Duncan Malcolmi”, and d. in poss. (*CPP*, 633; v. inf.). Prob. same person as “Malcolm Duncani”, who was named as last vic. on 2 Sept. 1441 (v. inf.).

112. Philip Macbradan (Pilib MacBradain) × 1395

Named as former vic., who res. ben. to “Duncan Malcolmi” before d. of Bp. Eoin of Ar. (v. inf.).

113. Duncan Malcolmi (Donnchadh mac Mhaoil-Chaluim / mac Ghille-Coluim) 1395–1405

Occ. 11 May 1403, when rec. disp. to be promoted to priests’ orders nws. he was son of priest, and conf. of poss. of vic., to which he had already been coll. by Bp. Eoin of Ar. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 102–103). On 17 March 1405 acc. of det. and ministering cure without papal disp. after d. of father, “Malcolm Maceoguyn” (v. inf.).

114. Nigel Colini Campbell (Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul) 1405

Archd. of Ar. Pet. 17 March 1405 (*CPP*, 633).

115. Malcolm Duncani (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Dhonnchaidh) × 1441

Named last vic. 2 Sept. 1441 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 808). Prob. same as “Maceoguyn” (v. sup.).

116. Duncan Macneyles (Donnchadh MacNiallghuis) × 1441

Named last vic. 19 Oct. 1441, the ben. being *de jure* vacant by his d. (CSSR, iv, no. 823).

117. Peter de Dalketh / Delkeith (of Dalkeith) 1441–1442

Occ. 2 Sept. 1441 when req. new prov. to ben., following prov. by bp. of Ar. and “believed” he still was in poss. The bp. then granted the archd. of Ar. to Peter and the said ben. to William Bektoun, but as his prov. to the archd. was contested he req. new prov. On 23 Sept. 1441 req. disp. to hold the said ben. with archd. (or another ben.) for life; on 19 Oct. 1441 acc. of ignorance of the local idiom, of being intruded by bp. “by the secular power”, and neglecting cure of souls (CSSR, iv, nos. 808, 816, 823). On 7 July 1442 he req. an extension of the statutory time to have his earlier *nova provisio* expedited (ibid., no. 879). Perhaps same fig. as Peter Wilson, provost of Kilmun (Boardman, “Pillars of the Community”, 155, n. 96).

118. William Bektoun 1441

Occ. 2 Sept. 1441, when said to have prov. by bp. of Ar. on Dalkeith’s abortive promotion to the archd. (CSSR, iv, no. 808).

119. Archibald Martini (Gill-easbuig mac Mhàrtainn) 1441

Pet. 19 Oct. 1441 (CSSR, iv, no. 823). Perhaps identical to “Archibald Martini” or “MacKul”, named as former prec. of Ar. in pet. of 15 Jan. 1496 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 213r–213v; *CPL*, xvii, no. 53).

120. Robert Dewar (Raibeart Mac an Deòir) × 1448

Named former vic. 6 June 1450, having res. ben. in exch. for perp. vic. of Kilfinan, which he was already in poss. of on 30 Oct. 1448 (CSSR, v, no. 353; AT, at date).

121. John MacAlpine (Eoin MacAilpein) 1448 × 1450

Exch. vic. with Dewar for per. vic. of Kilfinan before 30 Oct. 1448 (v. sup.).

122. William Bykatoune / Bektoun 1456

Occ. 1456 (*Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, 180). Prob. same fig. as in 1441 (v. sup.).

123. John Lauder 1460–1462

Named vic. when incorp. into Glas. Univ. 25 Oct. 1460 (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 68). Occ. 3 April 1462 (CSSR, v, no. 896; *CPL*, xi, 617–618).

124. David Auchter (Daibhidh MacUchtraigh or Ochiltree(?)) × 1488
Named late vic. 29 April 1488 (v. inf.). Perhaps identical to provost of Kilmun (*Fasti*, 472).

125. George Murzuniry (Montgomery) 1488
Pet. 29 April 1488, following prov. by ord. auth. req. disp. as “he does not understand or speak intelligibly” the local idiom (*CSSR*, vi, no. 1480; *Reg. Suppl.*, 885, fol. 25r).

126. Lachlan MacCawis (Lachlann MacThàmais) 1528
Occ. 22 Jan. 1528 (*RMS*, iii, no. 556).

127. Gilbertus MacOlchallum / McAlchallum (Gille-Brighde MacMhaoil-Chaluim) 1529–1541
Occ. 10 May 1529, 10 June 1536, 23 Sept. 1537 and 10 April 1541 (AT, at dates; *RMS*, iii, no. 2343). Rect. of Craignish by 23 Nov. 1542 (*RMS*, iii, no. 2902).

128. William Drummond 1553
Occ. 21 March 1553 when he entered a contract with Earl of Ar. leasing the advocation of the quarter tithes of the vic. for 3 years (AT, at date). Witn. indenture on 25 March 1553 (NAS GD112/1/837).

129. John Sclalter / Selaiter 1558–1573
Occ. 19 April 1558 and 2 Nov. 1558 (AT, at dates; *Lamont Papers*, no. 1444). On 22 July 1573 a royal precept was issued confirming a feu charter by “dene John Sclater”, of lands pertaining to the vic., though it is uncertain if he was in poss. or alive. Haws (*Clergy*, 165) speculates he was a monk of Paisley Abbey.

Kilmorich

Annexed to Inchaffray Abbey since c. 1246. (*Parishes*, 106); patronage of vic. unknown.

Rectors

130. Mauricius (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris) 1241 × 1248
Occ. in charter dated between 4 Sept. 1241 and c. 23 Sept. 1248, when the ch. was to be annexed to Inchaffray following the d. of “Mauricius clericus” (*Inchaffray Chrs.*, 64–65). Appropriations were usually made in anticipation of a future vacancy, so Mauricius was prob. alive at the time of the grant (Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.).

*Vicars***131. Alexander Campbell (Alasdair Caimbeul) 1468**

Occ. when incorp. into Glas. Univ. on 26 Jan. 1468 (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 73).

132. Duncanus McGregor (Donnchadh MacGriogair) 1475

Occ. 26 Feb. 1475 (NLS, Adv. MS. 19.2.23, fols. 18r–v). A “Patrick MacGregor of Ardconnel” occ. on both these occasions, suggesting that this cleric prob. originated from the Ardinconnel branch of the family (MacGregor, “MacGregors”, 108–109).

133. Iain Finlostoun / Finlosoun / Finlesone alias McKewila (Iain mac Fhionnlaigh or MacFhionnlaigh) 1501–1523

Occ. 30 July 1501 and 30 July 1511 (AT, at date; *RMS*, ii, no. 3622). Occ. 28 May 1519 (GD 112/2/81 no. 1). Occ. 12 Jan. 1523 and 8 Oct. 1523 (AT, at date).

134. Niall McArthur (Niall MacArtair) 1559–1560

Occ. 31 Jan. 1559 and 21 Jan. 1560 (AT, at date; *RMS*, iv, no. 1592).

Lochfyne

This rect. occ. twice in 1454 and 1466 (v. inf.). It cannot be Kilmorich, as the pars. fruits of that ch. were already annexed to Inchaffray (v. sup.). Perhaps identifiable as Inveraray as both incumbents listed below were canons of the collegiate ch. of Kilmun in 1452.

*Rectors***135. Thomas Spens 1454**

Occ. 20 Nov. 1454 (NAS GD112/1/8); also can. of Kilmun in 1452 (v. sup.).

136. Alexander Dewar (Alasdair Mac an Dèir) 1466–1471

Occ. 7 June 1466 and 24 Sept. 1471 (AT, at date; NLS Adv. MS 19.2.23, fol. 5r). Prob. identifiable with the can. of Kilmun in 1452 (v. sup.).

Inveraray / Kilmalieu

Annexed to the collegiate ch. of Kilmun sometime between 5 Aug. 1441 × 26 March 1466 by Bp. George of Ar. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 791; v, no. 1105; *CPL*, xii, 242–244). No vicars of Inveraray are mentioned but Stronmagachan (v. inf., no. 140) lies in Glenaray, within par. of Inveraray (*OPS*, 2:1, 85). Patronage of vic. unknown.

Rectors

137. Niall Fischer / Fischar (Niall Mac an Iasgair) 1517–1545

Occ. 30 Aug. 1517 (*BBT*, 180). Occ. 16 June 1524, 14 Oct. 1528, and 4 April 1529 (AT, at date). Occ. as pars. and chaplain on 2, 3, and 4 Nov. 1545 (*ibid.*).

138. Niall Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1552

Occ. 1 May 1552 (AT, at date; Meek and Kirk, “John Carswell”, 5). Prob. trans. from preb. of Kilmartin (v. inf.).

139. Nevin / Ninian MakVikar (Naomhán Mac a’Bhiocair) 1560–1573

Occ. 21 Jan. 1560 (AT, at date; *RMS*, iv, no. 1592). On 27 June 1561 “Nivin Makvicar, rector of Kilmalew” and his son Iain rec. a feu charter from the Earl of Ar. (AT, at date). On 9 Oct. 1561 “Nevin Makvicar”, pars. of “Kilmoleuo” and fellow chaplains of Kilmun Collegiate Ch. issued a feu charter with consent of the Earl of Ar., patron of the said ch. (AT, at date); this rec. Crown conf. on 24 March 1573, where the Earl of Ar. is named as patron of the pars. of “Kilmolevo” (*RSS*, vi, no. 1915). The life rent of the ben. was reserved to “Ninian McVicar” when Dòmhnall Mac a’Bhiocair was pres. to the pars. and vic. by the Earl of Ar. in 1570 (The Protocol Book of Gavin Hamilton, cited in *OPS*, 2:1, 85). A “Schir Newyne M’Vicar” was named commissary of Ar. on 8 Dec. 1580 (*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, 17).

Vicars

140. Niall McYltomish (Niall MacGille-Thòmais) 1538

Occ. as vic. of “Stronmagachan” 8 June 1538. Described as “familiar servitor” of Earl of Ar. (AT, at date, where Niall Campbell, Duke of Argyll, suggested the name should be rectified to “McIlneife or McGilneife”). Perhaps identical with “Niall MacTavish”, rect. of Kilmore (v. inf., no. 328).

Kilmartin

Patronage of ch. pertained to the baron of Ards Scotnish on 3 Aug. 1323, which was acquired by the Lord of Lochawe in 1372 (AT, at date; Boardman, *Campbells*, 75). Patronage of vic. and chaplaincy unknown.

Rectors / Prebendaries

141. Adam (Ádhamh) 1361

Occ. 16 Aug. 1361 (AT, at date).

142. John / Iain Campbell (Iain Caimbeul) 1414–1433

Occ. 4 June 1414, 29 Jan. 1422 and 17 Feb. 1433 (AT, at dates). On 29 Jan. 1422 named as brother of Donnchadh, Lord of Lochawe. Perhaps identical to “John Annan”, an elder son of Cailean *Iongantach* (Boardman, *Campbells*, 74, 103–104, ns. 50, 51).

143. Donald MacIachlan (Dòmhnall MacLachlainn) 1436

Occ. 20 Oct. 1436, where his name is immediately preceded by “the rector of Kilmartin”, though it is doubtful if it refers to this individual (H. Campbell, “Extracts from Poltalloch Writs”, *The Genealogist*, new series 38 (1922), 71–77, 135–145, 183–193, at 71, no. 1).

144. Donald Campbell / Kambayl (Dòmhnall Caimbeul) 1443–1448

Occ. as can. of Lismore and preb. of St Martin, dioc. Ar. on 14 Dec. 1443, when pet. for disp. to hold a ben. with cure. nws. defect of age, being just 15 years (CSSR, iv, no. 967). Occ. as “canon of the church of Argyll” on 30 Oct. 1448 (HP, ii, 181–182).

145. Master Johannes Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1456

Occ. 1456 (*Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, 179–180). Perhaps same fig. as Master “Johannes Cambell”, the Lord of Lochawe’s grandson or nephew (*nepote nostro*) on 20 Oct. 1432 (AT, at date).

146. Johannes Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1459

Occ. 24 Aug. 1459, when as can. of Lismore and rect. of Kilmartin he was incorp. into Glas. Univ. (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 66). Perhaps the same fig. as above, but his lack of univ. qualifications casts doubt on this. Perhaps identical to “John Campbell, cleric” who applied for disp. as son of a subdeacon on 3 Jan. 1452 (ASPA, vol. 4, fol. 50r).

147. Johannes Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1502–1508

Occ. 24 June 1502 (AT, at date) and as “Master John Campbell”, rect. of Kilmartin, 24 May 1508 (RMS, ii, no. 3232). A man called “M[aster] Johannes C[ampbell]”, rect. of Kilmartin, was d. by 13 Feb. 1544, when his son and namesake was legitimised (RMS, iii, no. 2992; thanks to Andrew Barrell for this reference).

148. Johannes / Iain Campbell (Iain Caimbeul) 1536–1544

Occ. repeatedly between 10 June 1536 and 6 Oct. 1544 (AT, *passim* between dates). On 6 April 1537 he pet. for Ardchattan Priory, asking to hold it with

his can. of Lismore and rect. of Kilmartin (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2245, fols. 187r–87v; cf. Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 11, which gives the year as 1538). Rec. prov. to Ardchattan 27 Feb. 1545, when he is named as son of “John Campbell of Caddel [Cawdor]” (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2534, fols. 298v–299v; *Cawdor Bk.*, 136, 169, 173, 174); he prob. res. preb. upon rec. commendatorship of Ardchattan on 5 Feb. 1545 (Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 11). A son, Alasdair, was pres. by Crown to commendatorship of Ardchattan on res. of father on 5 June 1580 (*RMS*, iv, no. 3021). Possibly same fig. who was rect. of Lochawe, 1528–1532 (v. inf., no. 341). He was provost of Kilmun between 1555 and 1557 (Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 472).

149. Neill / Niall Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1545–1551

Trans. from vic. of Kilmartin by 31 March 1545; still in poss. 16 Oct. 1551 (AT, at dates). Trans. to rect. of Kilmalieu by 1 May 1552 (v. sup.).

150. Patrick Grahame 1553

Occ. 14 Feb. 1553 (AT, at date). Trans. to rect. of Kilmore by 9 July 1553 (v. inf.).

151. John Carswell (Eoin Carsuel) 1553–1565

Occ. 25 March 1553 (NAS GD112/1/837), 16 Aug. 1553; as can. of Ar. on 31 Jan. 1555 (AT at date; NAS RH6/1639). Still rect. in 1565 (Scott, *Fasti*, iv, 13).

Vicars

152. Martinus (Màrtainn) 1304

Occ. 10 Sept. 1304 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

153. Laurencius (Labhruinn) 1355

Occ. 1355 (AT, at date).

154. Patricius Campbell (Pàdraig Caimbeul) 1420–1450

Occ. 1420 and 1450, when identified as Donnchadh of Lochawe’s brother (*SP*, ix, 18; AT, at dates).

155. Celestinus McEver or McEven (Gill-easbuig MacIomhair or MacEòghainn) 1463

Occ. 2 July 1463 (NAS GD1/20/1). Perhaps identifiable with “Archibald Gilberti Eugenii” (Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-Brighde mhic Eòghainn), pet. for pars. of Dunoon in 1461 (v. sup.).

156. Gilbertus McKincardy (Gille-Brìghde Mac a'Cheàirde(?)) 1498
Occ. 5 Oct. 1498 (*RMS*, ii, no. 2461).

157. Gilbert Duncanson (Gille-Brìghde mac Dhonnchaidh or MacDonnchaidh) 1509–1511
Occ. 10 Oct. 1509 and in 1511, and d. in this year (AT, at date; *OPS*, 2:1, 92).

158. Niall Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1528–1541
Occ. 15 Oct. 1528, and 10 Dec. 1533 when also dean of Lochawe (AT, at dates); occ. 10 and 26 April 1541, when described as “dean of Kilmartin” (AT, at date; *RMS*, iii, no. 2343). Still dean of Lochawe 6 Oct. 1544 (*Fasti*, 50). Prob. res. ben. upon his trans. to rect. of Kilmartin.

Chaplains

159. Iain Makolchallum (Iain MacMhaoil-Chaluim) 1534
Occ. Aug. 1534 (AT, at date).

160. Gilbertus Makolchallum (Gille-Brìghde MacMhaoil-Chaluim) 1546–1576
Occ. as divine celebrant in par. ch. on 28 Oct. 1546, when another chaplain was to be app. after his d. He was still chaplain on 16 May 1576 (*RSS*, iii, no. 1965; vii, no. 598).

Craignish

Patronage of rect. and vic. unknown.

Rectors

161. Cristin Duncani (Gille-Chriost mac Dhonnchaidh) 1395
Occ. 1 July 1395, when req. prov. to Kilninver pars. (*CPP*, 584). He was to res. Craignish upon peaceful acquisition (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 40–41).

162. Walter Bet 1440–1442
Occ. 4 Oct. 1440 and 4 Aug. 1442 (AT, at dates). Served as secretary to Lord of Lochawe on 20 Oct. 1432, 13 May 1433 (as “clerk”) and 16 Oct. 1434 (*ibid.*). Occ. 13 May 1439 as notary public of imperial auth. (*ibid.*).

163. John Brown 1473
Occ. 19 May 1473 (NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fol. 14r).

164. Archibald MakVicar (Gill-easbuig Mac a'Bhiocair) 1522

Occ. 27 Aug. 1522 (AT, at date). Provost of Kilmun between 1523 and 1548 (*Fasti*, 472).

165. Archibald Leich / Leche (Gill-easbuig Lighiche) 1523–1524

Occ. 8 Oct. 1523, 5 May 1524 and 24 May 1524 (AT, at dates). Chancellor of Ar. between 1501 and 1516; held Kilmun provostry 1520–1522 (v. inf.; *Fasti*, 472).

166. Nygellus Lawmownd (Niall MacLaghmainn) 1530

Occ. 26 Feb. 1530 when admitted to Glas. Univ. (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 156).

167. Nigellus Leche (Niall Lighiche) 1530

Occ. 29 April 1530 (*RMS*, iii, no. 1379).

168. Niall Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1532

Occ. 23 Sept. 1532 (AT, at date).

169. Gilbert Makolcallum / Gilbertus Makcolmsoun (Gille-Brighde MacMhaoil-Chaluim) 1542–1576

Occ. in uninterrupted poss. between 23 Nov. 1542 and 27 June 1561 (*RMS*, iii, no. 2902; AT, passim between dates). 28 Oct. 1546 rec. letters of legit. (*RMS*, iv, no. 24). Niall Caimbeul is identified as the rect. on 10 July 1547, but this is almost certainly an error (AT, at date). Still in poss. 16 May 1576 (*RSS*, vii, no. 598).

*Vicars***170. Robert Dewer (Raibeart Mac an Deòir) 1434–1442**

Occ. 16 Oct. 1434; 12 March 1440 (AT, at dates) and 17 Dec. 1440 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 731). Still in poss. 4 Aug. 1442 (AT, at date). Became vic. of Lochgoilhead and Kilfinan (v. sup., nos. 36, 120).

171. Johannes (Eoin) 1450

Occ. 1450 (AT, at date).

172. Iain Clerk (Iain Cléireach) 1542–1554

Occ. 20 May 1542, 16 Aug. 1543 and 20 April 1554 (AT, at dates).

DEANERY OF KNAPDALE AND KINTYRE

Kilcolmkill In Kintyre

Preb. in lay patronage in 1436–1438 (*CSSR*, iv, nos. 309, 445). The claims of Whithorn Priory were asserted in pet. of 1431 and 1538, but were unsuccessful (v. inf.).

*Prebendaries***173. Neil Obrolchan (Niall Ó Brolchán) 1382**

Occ. 6 Oct. 1382 seeking papal conf. of poss. of “St Columba in Meol” after erection of ben. as preb. of Ar. Held the ben. in plurality with rect. of Kilarrow in Islay, and was forced to seek disp. Compelled to res. Kilcolmkill before being recoll. to the ben. (*CPL Clement VII*, 83–84, where it also occ. as “St Columba in Moll” and “St Columba in Mull”. *LMMS*, 107, mistakenly identifies this ben. as Kilcolmkill on Mull, dioc. Sodr., but this refers to Mull of Kintyre in Ar.; cf. *CPL*, ix, 13).

174. Malcolm de Insula (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim of the Isle) × 1431

Named last legit. “rector” on 21 May 1431 (v. inf.). Perhaps identifiable with Colin / Malcolm Cristini (v. inf.).

175. William de Seton 1431

Pres. by Whithorn Priory to rect., vacant by d. of “Malcolm de Insula”, but refused inst. by bp. of Ar. and opposed by the incumbent James Douglas. On 21 May 1431 a papal mand. was issued to publish and execute a sentence in favour of William (*CPL*, viii, 375) and on 28 May 1431 he occ. as rect. of the par. ch. of St Columba, obliging himself for annates on behalf of Tongland monastery (*ACSB*, 104–105). This suggests he was actually pres. in Rome, so corporeal poss. remains doubtful.

176. James Douglas 1431

Prob. incumbent 21 May 1431, prob. coll. by bp. of Ar. to succ. Malcolm / Colin Cristini or Malcolm de Insula, though this remains unresolved. Poss. contested (v. sup.).

177. Colin / Malcolm Cristini (Gille-Coluim / Maol-Coluim mac Ghille-Chriost) × 1434

Occ. posthumously as preb. 30 June 1436, 18 July 1436 and, as “Malcolm”, 11 March 1438 (*CPL*, viii, 607; ix, 13; *CSSR*, iv, no. 309). He was still alive

26 Dec. 1427 (*CPL*, viii, 10), but prob. d. before 1434, as the vacancy said to be so long that coll. had devl. to Apos. See, and it had been held by a successor for 2 to 3 years by 18 July 1436 (*ibid.*, viii, 607; see also *CSSR*, iv, no. 445). Although Colin / Malcolm is only associated posthumously with this ben., he prob. held it for several decades: "Colin Cristini" first occ. as a can. of Ar. on 28 Dec. 1391 (*CPL Clement VII*, 170) and "Malcolm Cristini", occ. as can. of Ar. on 7 June 1393, 15 Oct. 1394 and 7 Jan. 1428 (*CPL Clement VII*, 190; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 17; *CPL*, viii, 10). He may be identifiable with "Malcolmus", apparently a *magister*, who was rect. of St Columba "de Moyle" on 1 Nov. 1409 (*ALI*, 27–28; *RMS*, ii, no. 2264). This could be Kilcolmkill in Mull, but the occurrence of vicars of Kilcolmkill in Mull in 1391 may suggest that the rect. had already been annexed to Iona by this date, and it probably refers to the Mull of Kintyre (*CPL Clement VII*, 170; v. sup., no. 173. My thanks go to Andrew Barrell for this suggestion). No mention was made of the can. when Malcolm Cristini sought prov. for Kilmodan rect. on 9 June 1392 (*CPL Clement VII*, 174). On 21 Feb. 1438 Malcolm Cristini was described as former vic. of Kilcalmonell (*CPL*, viii, 625). He may therefore be the same fig. as "Malcolm MacDubaili", who was d. before 12 June 1433 (v. inf.; *CSSR*, iv, no. 48; *CPL*, viii, 470). Perhaps also identifiable with "Malcolm de Insula", named last legit. rect. of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre on 25 May 1431 (*CPL*, viii, 375).

178. Maurice Dugaldi MacNeil (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill) 1433–1454

In a *reformatio* of 13 July 1433 he sought disp. for an unnamed can. and preb. of Ar. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 53). This prob. refers to Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, for which he rec. a bull from the Apos. Cam. on 23 Sept. 1433 (*ACSB*, 114); no annates were due because the ben. was valued below the minimum threshold. On 30 June 1436 he was acc. of det. preb. since c. 1434 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 309). 18 July 1436 stated to have coll. by ord. auth., but without consent of the said lay patron. Moreover, coll. alleged to have taken place after expiry of entitlement to pres. Said to have held poss. for 2 but less than 3 years (*CPL*, viii, 607). Still in poss. 11 March 1438, when his coll. by the bp. was again alleged to be uncanonical, but this time due to length of vacancy with result that coll. had devl. to Apos. See (*CPL*, ix, 13). Still in poss. 22 Jan. 1440 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 635) and 20 March 1451, by which date he poss. several ben. incl. rect. Kilblane and rect. Kilmory in Arran, dioc. Sodr. (*CPL*, x, 547). Designated can. of Ar. 23 July 1454 (*CPL*, x, 706).

179. Donald Dominici / Donald Dominici Matanerelegwi (Dòmhnall mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach Mac an Fhir-lèighinn) 1436

Occ. 30 June 1436 when pet. as vic. of Kilchoman in Islay and perp. vic. of Gigha (CSSR, iv, no. 309). Rec. papal prov. 18 July 1436, but did not gain poss. (CPL, viii, 607). Also vic. of Kirkapoll, Tiree, between 1464 to 1467, and vic. of Coll between c. 1447 and 1451. His son, "Dominic Donaldi", formerly vic. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern, was rect. of Kilchoman from 1462 (CSSR, ii, 127, 179; iv, nos. 309, 927; v, nos. 599, 949, 1203; CPL, viii, 23, 597; ix, 404; x, 501–502; xi, 480).

180. Ivar Andree (Ìomhar mac Ghill-Anndrais) 1438

Pet. 11 March 1438 as rect. of Kilarrow in Islay. Rec. bull from Apos. Cam. on 22 March 1438 but no annates were due because it was below the threshold for liability (CSSR, iv, no. 445; CPL, ix, 13; ACSB, 120).

181. James Weyke (Wick) 1458

Rec. new prov. 1 Feb. 1458 after coll. by ord. auth. Had doubted validity because he was not ordained a priest, but held ben. along with the preb. of Kilmuir Easter and chapel of Delny, dioc. R. Described as secretary of Eoin of Islay, Earl of R. (CSSR, v, no. 676; CPL, xi, 334).

182. Duncan Ebrochlathom (Donnchadh Ó Brolcháin) 1464–1496

21 Jan. 1467 req. new prov. to preb. after coll. by ord. auth. and which he held for 3 years along with the compat. ben. of rect. of Kildalton in Islay (CSSR, v, no. 1174). A kinsman, Niall, pet. for vic. on same day (v. inf.). Occ. again on 14 Jan. 1496, when as can. of Ar. he proposed to res. the can. and preb. of St Columba in Kintyre in favour of kinsman Eoin Ó Brolcháin, and to req. that the preb. be united to the rect. of Kildalton in Islay and given to Eoin *ad vitam* (Reg. Suppl., 1015, fol. 179r).

Prebendaries / Rectors and Vicars

183. John et Obrolchan / John Bralbochane / EBrolchan (Eoin Ó Brolcháin) 1496–1538

Occ. 14 Jan. 1496, when incumbent Donnchadh proposed to res. the can. and preb. to him and unite it *ad vitam* to rect. of Kildalton in Islay; Eoin pet. for the preb. nws. defect of birth as son of a cleric (*clericus*) and unmarried woman, and nws. he has been tonsured uncanonically (Reg. Suppl., 1015, fol. 179r). It is unclear whether the proposed union was successful, but he occ. again as preb. and rect. or vic. on 30 July 1538

(*Reg. Suppl.*, 2291, fols. 132r–v) and was named late rect. of Kildalton in Islay on 19 Feb. 1543 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2478, fol. 23r; Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.).

184. John Steinston 1538

Pet. 30 July 1538; asserting that pres. belonged to Whithorn Priory (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2291, fols. 132r–v).

Vicars

185. Filanus Macgylyduff / Fyllanus Magiliduff (Faolan MacGille-dhuibh) 1467

Occ. 21 Jan. 1467 when acc. of dilapidating goods, neglecting cure, sacraments and other “excesses” (v. inf.).

186. Negelus Obrolachan (Niall Ó Brolchán) 1467

21 Jan. 1467 pet. for depriv. of Faolan MacGille-dhuibh and of Niall MacPhàil of rect. of Kilmichael in Kintyre, wishing to unite the 2 ben. together for himself (*CSSR*, v, no. 1175; *CPL*, xii, 515). He was the kinsman of incumbent preb. (v. sup.).

Kilblane

Rect. in patronage of Earl of R. in 1472 (*CSSR*, vi, no. 73); in royal patronage during 16c. (v. inf.).

Rectors

187. Maurice Dugaldi MacNeil (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill) 1433–1451.

Occ. 19 June 1433 rec. disp. to hold it with the rect. of Kilmory, Arran (*CPL*, viii, 473). Occ. 13 July 1433 and 26 Jan. 1451 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 53; v, no. 307). 20 March 1451 req. disp. to hold it with the vic. of Kilcalmonell (*ibid.*, no. 427; *CPL*, x, 547). Prob. in continuous poss. throughout this period. He was also preb. of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre (v. inf.).

188. Angus Angusii de Insulis (Aonghas mac Aonghais of the Isles), bp. of Sodr. 1472

Occ. 15 Oct. 1472, following his recent promotion to see of Sodr. on 3 Aug. 1472 (*CSSR*, vi, no. 73; *ACSB*, 68, misdated 1471). Also preb. of Kilberry (v. inf.; see *CSSR*, v, no. 1018, for his origins).

189. Mauricius Makneile (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris MacNéill) 1506–1527

Occ. 1506; still rect. at d. sometime before 10 April 1527 (*ER*, xii, 708; *RSS*, i, no. 3726).

190. Master Jacobus Haswell 1527

Rec. Crown pres. 10 April 1527 following d. of MacNéill (*RSS*, i, no. 3726). Named king's familiar chaplain in 1529 (*ADC 1501–1554*, 302).

191. Robert Montgomery 1531–1538

Occ. 25 Aug. 1531 and 5 Feb. 1532, featuring alongside his namesake Robert Montgomery, bp. of Ar. (Fraser, *Montgomeries*, ii, 116–117). Res. ben. by 25 Sept. 1538 (*RSS*, ii, no. 2724).

192. Johannes Makgauchane (John MacGeachan) 1538–1542

Rec. Crown pres. on res. of Montgomery 25 Sept. 1538 (*ibid.*; *Surnames*, 495). Occ. repeatedly between 10 Feb. 1541 and 1542 (*Irvine Muniments*, 173, 180, 183, 186, 189, 196, 199, 201; *Surnames*, 495).

193. Cornelius Omay (Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh) × 1580

"Master Cornelius Omay" was named late rect. 14 Oct. 1580, when Dòmhnall Caimbeul was pres. by the Crown in his place (*RSS*, vii, no. 2566. For the name *Conchobar*, v. inf., no. 265)

Kilkivan

The noble man "John Macdompnall, *domicellus*" of the dioc. of Ar. is named as "true patron" of the rect. of par. ch. of "St Kywanus" in pet. dated 7 May 1376 (*Reg. Vat.*, 288 fols. 223r–223v); it is named as residing in lay hands in 1469 (*CSSR*, v, no. 1408); perhaps annexed to Saddell Abbey c. 1475. In 1539 the Crown exercised right of pres. to the vic. during the vacancy of the see of Ar. under regalian right (*RSS*, ii, no. 3092). This suggests the patronage of this ben. resided in epis. patronage, but there is no evidence to support the notion that the ch. itself was annexed to epis. *mensa* (*Parishes*, 101; Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.). Vic. in Crown patronage in 16th c. (v. inf.). Name-forms given in 14th and 15th c. supplications are problematic and some may concern Kilkerran.

*Rectors***194. Cristinus Magdubagan (Gille-Chrìost MacDubagáin) × 1373(?)**

On 7 May 1376 he was described as sometime rect. of ch. of “St Kywanus”, dioc. Ar., and as having been coll. to the ch. which he held canonically until he contracted marriage (v. inf.). The date of his incumbency and his clerical status are unknown so various interpretations are possible: he could have preceded Ìomhar MacEacharna in the ben. or he might have been interposed to prevent direct filial succession between Ìomhar and Gill-Anndrais. Alternatively, he may have obtained poss. following the res. by Gill-Anndrais.

195. Yuarus M(ac)h Eachyrna (Ìomhar MacEacharna) × 1373

He is named as pars. of “Kylkecan” and father of “Andreas, parson of Kilcoman [Kilchoman, Islay]” on a cross standing at Old Quay Head, Campbeltown (*LMMS*, 159).

196. Andreas / Andrew MacEachern / Andreus Maccachrern / Maceachiern (Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna) × 1373

He had already held the ch. “for many years”, when, in 1376, he rec. disp. for defect of birth as son of a cleric with cure. His father Ìomhar was a previous incumbent. In pet. dated 7 May 1376 he was said to have freely res. the ben. to Bp. Màrtainn of Ar. at some point before 1373 (*Reg. Vat.*, 288, fols. 223r–223v). In pet. dated 19 July 1382 and 31 May 1393 he is said to have formerly poss. Kilkivan “for many years” before (allegedly) exchanging it for the rect. of Kilchoman par. ch. on Islay uncanonically. He enjoyed a long, if disputed, incumbency at Kilchoman between 1373 × 1375 and 1393 (*CPL Clement VII*, 79, 189; *Reg. Vat.*, 289, fols. 689r–689v; *Reg. Suppl.*, 64, fol. 141v; *Reg. Aven.*, 196, fols. 60–61; *LMMS*, 159–160).

197. Patricius Doncani Dormitarii (Pàdraig mac Dhonnchaidh mhic Dhiarmaid) 1373–1376

On 7 May 1376 he rec. prov. to par. ch. of “St Kywanus”, claiming that he had been pres. by the true patron “John Macdompnall”, following res. by Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna, and that he had held it peacefully for 3 years. As priest and incumbent, he sought conf. because he feared that the married status of an earlier incumbent “Cristinus Magdubagan” had rendered the ch. vacant for so long that coll. had devl. to the Apos. See. “Patricius” feared his poss. might be molested on these grounds in the future (*Reg. Vat.*, 288, fols. 223r–223v).

198. Dugal Cristini Laurencii (Dubhghall mac Ghille-Chriost mhic Labhruinn) × 1436

Occ. as rect. of “St Kenan” in Kintyre on 26 June 1436 when pet. for papal absolution, having been coll. by ord. and formerly held poss. before illegally res. for exch. with rect. of Kilmichael (*CSSR*, iv, no. 307).

199. Duncan Patricii (Donnchadh mac Phàdraig) × 1463

Occ. posthumously as rect. of ch. of “St Kaermani in Kintyre” 2 June 1463 (*CPL*, xii, 173). Named last legit. poss. of pars. of “St Kewan” par. ch. in pet. dated 27 June, 29 July and 8 Aug. 1469 (*CSSR*, v, nos. 1399, 1407, 1408).

200. Cristin Bricii (Gille-Chriost mac Ghille-Brìghde) 1463–1469

Occ. 2 June 1463 when rec. prov. to rect. of ch. of “St Kaermani in Kintyre” having been previously pres. by lay patron Eoin of Islay and inst. by bp. of Ar. (*CPL*, xii, 173). 7 June 1463 offered to dem. rect. of ch. of “St Karmarari” in Kintyre on peaceful assecution of vacant archd. of Sodr. (*CSSR*, v, no. 950). Prov. to archd. granted on 25 June 1463, with proviso that he was to res. the rect. of par. ch. of “St Comani in Ky(n)ure” as offered (*CPL*, xi, 482). Acc. of illegally detaining archd. with rect. of par. ch. “St Kewan” for between 3 and 5 years in pet. dated 27 June, 29 July and 8 Aug. 1469 (v. inf.).

201. Nigel Colini (Niall mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) 1469

Pet. repeatedly to pars. of par. ch. of “St Kewan” on 27 June 1469, 29 July 1469, and 8 Aug. 1469 (as “St Kelam”). On last occasion he noted the conditional support of the lay patron (*CSSR*, v, nos. 1399, 1407, 1408). Poss. unknown.

Vicars

202. Bricius Macillcoachen (Gille-Brìghde MacGilleChòmghain) 15th c.
Named vic. on grave-slab at said ch., dated to 15th c. (*LMMS*, 159; *RCAHMS, Argyll*, i, no. 286).

203. Nigel Colini (Niall mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) 1469

Occ. 27 June 1469, 29 July 1469, 8 Aug. 1469 when as vic., he pet. for rect. (v. sup.).

204. Celestin Martini (Gill-easbuig mac Mhàrtainn) 1469.

Pet. 27 June 1469 to replace “Nigel Colini” as vic. on its vacancy by his assecution of rect. (*ibid.*, no. 1399).

205. Johannes Hawik 1539

Dem. perp. vic. of “Kilcowan in Kintyre” on 24 July 1539 (v. inf.).

206. Johannes Fleming 1539

Pres. 24 July 1539 by Crown to perp. vic., to whom the right fell during the vacancy of the see of Ar. (*RSS*, ii, no. 3092).

Kilkerran

Annexed to Paisley Abbey in 1241 × 1249 (*Parishes*, 100). Patronage of the rect. and vic. remained with Paisley thereafter despite several disputes (*ALI*, 86–87; *CSSR*, v, no. 592). It is quite possible that some of incumbents listed under Kilkivan refer to Kilkerran.

Rectors

207. Gilbertus (Gille-Brighde) 1235 x

Occ. as pars. of “Kilchiarane” in charter dated c. 1235 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

208. Malcolmus (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim) 1262

Occ. as rect. of “Sancti Querani in Kentyir” 2 Feb. 1262 when he and Paisley Abbey resolved the dispute over the pension due to the abbey from the fruits of Kilkerran, which he had agreed to pay during the epis. of the predecessor of Bp. Ailean [Alan] of Ar. (*Pais. Reg.*, 130).

209. Thomas Nudre 1513

Pet. for ch. of “Kalinerran” 5 May 1513 on d. of last (unnamed) incumbent (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1409, fols. 37r–v).

Vicars

210. Angusius (Aonghas) × 1299

Occ. 29 Oct. 1299, when said to have been pres. to ben. by bp. of Ar. He was to res. and then be pres. by Paisley, which had won a lawsuit over the patronage (*Pais. Reg.*, 131).

211. John Cristini (Eoin mac Ghille-Chriost) 1407

Occ. 6 April 1407 when req. prov. to rec. of Kilmory in Arran (*CPP*, 635), but was required to dem. the said ben. upon the assecution of Kilmory (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 162).

212. John Celestini (Eoin mac Ghill-easbuig) × 1420

Occ. posthumously in pet. 22 Jan. 1420, when vic. was vacant by his d. or his illegal det. with rect. of "Aran", prob. Kilmory in Arran (v. inf.). The similarities with the previous entry might suggest that 'Celestini' is an error for 'Cristini' (v. sup.).

213. Maurice Macgugan (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris MacGuagáin) 1420

Pet. 22 Jan. 1420, following d. of "John Celestini" (*CSSR*, i, 151).

214. Donald Colini (Dòmhnall mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) 1439

Following an earlier papal prov., supplicated for disp. to hold the said ben. with the vic. of "St Kenicius" on 30 June 1439 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 573). He was also treas. of Ar. (*CSSR*, v, no. 418).

215. Donald Dominici Maclaurante (Dòmhnall mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach MacLabruinn) 1456

Occ. 9 March 1456, when acc. of scandalous behaviour (v. inf.). The surname is prob. a phonetic rendering of *MacLabruinn* (*MacLaren*. See *Surnames*, 534–535).

216. Maurice, son of John Meredonayllilith (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Eoin MacDòmhnail Lighiche) 1456

Pet. for ben. on 9 March 1456 whilst simultaneously requesting absolution from excommunication. Stated that vic. belonged to patronage of Paisley Abbey (*CSSR*, v, no. 592). Poss. unknown. Occ. as "Maurice Macdonalyth", rect. of Gigha, 10 April 1498 (*CPL*, xvi, no. 867; see also *Reg. Suppl.*, 1057, fol. 188v, where he is surnamed "MacDonolich").

*Parish Clerks***217. Dungallus Clerk (Dubhghall Cléireach) 1505**

Occ. 28 July 1505 (*ER*, xii, 363).

Kilchousland

In 1393 “John of the Isles”, (prob. Eoin Mòr, Lord of Dunivaig, brother of Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles) was described as “true patron”, but in 1428 this was disputed and the Lord of the Isles was asserted to be the “true patron” (v. inf.). The ch. was prob. prebendal between 1408 and 1433, when it was described as being of “lay gift” (v. inf.). On 12 March 1508 James IV granted the pars. and vic., along with the patronage, to the epis. *mensa* of Ar., implying that the ch. was no longer prebendal (*RMS*, ii, no. 3208).

Rectors and Prebendaries

218. Maeltmore Mec Clemente (Maol-Moire MacCliamain(?)) × 1392
Occ. posthumously 31 May 1393, following poss. as rect. (v. inf.). The second name could be a variant of *MacLaomainn* or *MacLaghmainn* (*Surnames*, 470, 534).

219. Angus Macayd / Angus Odonis Macay (Aonghas mac Aoidh MacAoidh) 1392–1394

Pet. for new prov. 31 May 1393, following poss. of “a year or thereabouts”, but doubted validity due to defect of age, being 22 years old (*CPL Clement VII*, 189). A later pet. of 29 Feb. 1428 stated that he held rect. for 2 years without disp. for non-promotion to priesthood, following which he was prov. by ord. auth. to the vacant rect. of “St Congan”, dioc. Ar. (v. inf.).

220. Odo Macay / Odo son of Odo Macidh (Aodh mac Aoidh MacAoidh) 1408 × 1421

Pet. of 29 Feb. 1428 stated he was coll. by ord. auth. to ben. following its erection as a preb. of Ar., and further asserting that the ch. had actually devl. to the Apos. See. Held ben. until his d. (*CSSR*, ii, 188–189). Identified as “Odo [son of] Odo Macidh” 23 June 1433 when the ben. was allegedly vacant by his d. (*CPL*, viii, 468). Also occ. as “Odo Mayg”, or “Adain Mocaid”, can. of Ar., 6 Oct. and 22 Dec. 1408 respectively (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 190, 194). Occ. as can. 3 May 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 235). This suggests the ch. was prebendal before 1408.

221. Malcolm Johannis / Colin, son of John MacMagistir (Gille-Coluim / Maol-Coluim mac Eoin MacMhaighistir) c. 1421–1433

Occ. 29 Feb. 1428, when acc. of det. preb. for 7 years following d. of Aodh mac Aoidh MacAoidh. Pres. by “John de Insulis” (prob. Eoin Mòr, Lord of Dunivaig), not Dòmhnall, the “true patron”. Faced strong challenge by

Gill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil, who was supported by Alasdair, Lord of the Isles (v. inf.); still in poss. 23 June 1433 in guise of “Colin [son of] John MacMagistir”, but faces new rival “John Finlarii”. Claimed coll. by ord. auth. and poss. for over 6 years (*CPL*, viii, 468).

222. Celestinus Celestini Macgillemichael (Gill-easbuig mac Ghill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1428

As rect. of Kilmelfort pet. for preb. 29 Feb. 1428 with support of patron, Alasdair, Lord of the Isles (*CSSR*, ii, 188–189).

223. John Finlaius Prioris Macphilip / Macpilibh / Macphilb (Eoin mac Fhionnlaigh Phrior MacPhilib) 1433

Pet. for preb. of St Constantine or “Cyllenfultan” 23 June 1433 (*CPL*, viii, 468). Rec. bull for payment of annates 4 Sept. 1433 (*Cam Ap., Oblig et Sol.* [GUS] at date).

224. Alexander McRannell Mor MacDonnell (Alasdair MacRaghnaill Mhòir MacDòmhnail(?)) × 1499

Occ. posthumously on pres. of Adam Colquhoun to rect. of “Glenquhissillan” (v. inf.).

225. Master Adam Colquhoun 1499–1507

Crown pres. 6 July 1499, but dem. by 20 Jan. 1507 (*RSS*, i, nos. 404, 1412. For his career see D. McRoberts, “The Manse of Stobo in 1542”, *IR* 22:1 (1971), 19–31).

226. Michalus Culquhoun 1507

Pres. to rect. on dem. by Colquhoun, 20 Jan. 1507 (*RSS*, i, no. 1412).

Vicars

227. [...] 1541

Unnamed vic. listed in rental 25 June 1541 (*ER*, xvii, 626).

Kilmichael

Rect. in lay patronage in 1427 and 1467 and in 1436 belonged to Lord of the Isles (v. inf.; *CPL*, viii, 597; *CSSR*, v, no. 1175). On 12 March 1508 the pars. and vic., along with the patronage, were granted by James IV to the epis. *mensa* of Ar. (*RMS*, ii, no. 3208).

*Rectors***228. Duncan Patricii (Donnchadh mac Phàdraig) 1427**

Occ. 8 Dec. 1427 when pet. for habilitation and new prov. to said ben. and that of Kilberry. Pet. supported by Alasdair, Lord of the Isles. Formerly rect. of Strath, dioc. Sodr., and then of Killintag (“St Fenoge”), dioc. Ar. (CSSR, ii, 177–178). Said to have res. ben. to bp. of Ar. (CPL, viii, 597–598; CSSR, iv, no. 308).

229. Dugal Cristini Laurencii (Dubhghall mac Ghille-Chrìost mhic Labhruinn) c. 1435–1436

Obtained poss. in exch. for rect. of Kilkivan (CSSR, iv, no. 307). Pet. 26 June 1436, following 1 to 2 years of poss., after coll. by bp. of Ar. (v. inf.). He req. new prov. and disp. for earlier uncanonical exch., but alleged “Dugal Dugalli Bernardi” [also “Dugaldus Dugaldi MacMaelmicheil”] was in *de facto* poss. (CSSR, iv, no. 307). Prob. identifiable with “Dugald” who was allegedly in poss. for over 1 year in rival pet. 26 June 1436 (v. inf.). Res. rect. before 21 July 1436 (v. inf.).

230. Dugaldus Dugaldi MacMaelmicheil / Dugald Dugaldi Macmartluitheil / Dugal Dugalli Bernardi / Dugald McMolmicheyI called McBernaus (Dubhghall mac Dhubhghaill MacMaoilMicheil) c. 1435–1436

Rec. papal prov. 24 June 1436. Pres. by lay patron Alasdair, Lord of the Isles to bp. of Ar. within lawful time, who refused coll., as it was already coll. to “Dougal Laurencii” (CPL, viii, 597–598). 26 June 1436 pet. that bp. of Ar. had failed to institute him within time, and coll. now devl. to Apos. See, also alleging that one “Dugald” [i.e. “Dougal Laurencii”] had det. poss. for over 1 year (CSSR, iv, no. 308). Given that he was pres. by the lay patron, he is prob. same fig. as “Dugal Dugalli Bernardi”, *de facto* poss. by lay power in pet. dated 26 June 1436 (CSSR, iv, no. 307). Occ. as “Dugal Dugalli” in pet. dated 21 July 1436, when alleged to have det. poss. for 2 years (v. inf.).

231. Necthanus Donaldi (Neachtan mac Dhòmhnaill) 1436

Pet. 21 July 1436, vacant by res. of “Dugal Cristini Laurencii”, and uncanonical det. by “Dugal Dugalli” [i.e. “Dugaldus Dugaldi MacMaelmicheil”] for 2 years (CSSR, iv, no. 314b). *Reformatio* dated 30 July 1436 (CSSR, iv, no. 316).

232. Malcolmus Johannis (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Eoin) 1454
Occ. 23 July 1454, when acc. of simony, dilapidation, non-residence and neglecting cure (v. inf.).

233. Nigel Bricii (Niall mac Ghille-Brìghde) 1454
Pet. 23 July 1454, simultaneously rec. absolution for promotion to sacred orders despite being son of priest (CSSR, v, no. 541; CPL, x, 706).

234. Nigel Macfaly (Niall MacPhàil) 1467
Occ. 21 Jan. 1467, when acc. of simony, dilapidation and “other crimes and excesses” (v. inf.).

235. Negelus Obrolachan (Niall Ó Brolchán) 1467
Pet. 21 Jan. 1467, simultaneously req. prov. to perp. vic. of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre, and union of the 2 ben. (CSSR, v, no. 1175; CPL, xii, 515).

236. Donaldus Nigelli Makphaell (Dòmhnall mac Niall MacPhàil) 1498
Occ. 7 April 1498, when acc. of uncanonical det., “for a certain time” (v. inf.).

237. Cornelius junior Cornelii seniorii / Conqueir Oman / Cornelius Man (Conchobar Òg mac Conchobhar Mhòir / Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh) 1498
Pet. 7 April 1498, alleging that rect. was so long vacant that coll. had devl. to Apos. See. He simultaneously req. prov. to perp. vic. of Kilcalmonell and preb. of Kilberry; all 3 ben. were to be united under Cornelius until his d. or res. (CPL, xvi, no. 869; v. inf., nos. 258, 265).

Vicars

238. Cristine Neachtain called Macalpen (Gille-Chrìost mac Neachtain MacAilpein) 1395
Occ. 31 Oct. 1395 when rec. papal prov. to rect. of Kilmonivaig upon which he was to dem. the said vic. (CPL *Benedict XIII*, 55–56, 56–57).

Kilchenzie

Annexed to Iona Abbey (*Parishes*, 97); patronage of vic. unknown.

Vicars

239. Donald Colini (Dòmhnall mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) 1439

Occ. 30 June 1439 as perp. vic. of “St Kenicus”, dioc. Dk., when he req. disp. to hold it with perp. vic. of “St Keranus” (Kilkerran) dioc. Ar., for life as they were so near “that they can be governed by one vicar”. The assignation of this ch. to Dk. dioc. may point to Muckairn, but the proximity of Kilchenzie to Kilkerran, and its dedication to St Cainneach, suggest it as the more likely candidate. If so, the statement that it pertained to Dk. could perhaps suggest that it was already tied to Iona Abbey, over which the bp. of Dk. poss. jurisdiction in the 1430s. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 573).

Killarow

Patronage of rect. unknown, but annexed to Ardochattan Priory by Reformation (*Parishes*, 104). The ch. was dedicated to St Maol-Rubha. No clergy can be tied with this ch. with confidence, but mention of the par. ch. of “St Molrwe” in a papal letter of 13 Jan. 1392 may conceivably refer to this ch. (v. inf., Kilmelfort).

Killeen

Annexed to epis. *mensa* in 1243, confirmed 1507 (*Parishes*, 101). Patronage of vic. unknown.

Vicars

240. Cristinus Donaldiyleich (Gille-Chriost MacDòmhnail Lighiche) 1408

Occ. 3 May 1408, when rec. prov. to the archd. of Sodr., upon the assecution of which he would res. the said vic. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 173).

241. Bricius MacPhilip (Gille-Brighde MacPhilip) c. 1500–1560

Occ. on graveslab in Killeen, comm. by likely curate and kinsman (*LMMS*, 154).

242. Archibald McYllewra / Macgillavray (Gill-easbuig MacIllebhàth) 1543–1545

Occ. as vic. of “Killane” on 23 May 1543 and 28 July 1545, although no dioc. is given in either instance (AT, at date; *State Papers Henry VIII*, v, 477–478; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xx, pt. 1, 642, where the surname is “McGillevray”).

243. Patrick Omay (Pàdraig Ó Miadhaigh) 1557

Occ. 12 Oct. 1557 (AT at date).

*Curate***244. Lachlanus, son of Finlaius (Lachlann mac Fhionnlaigh) c. 1500–1560**

Comm. graveslab of vic. Possible kinsman of Eoin mac Fhionnlaigh Phrior MacPhilib, vic. of Kilcalmonell (*LMMS*, 154).

Kilcalmonell

In April 1261 the patronage of the ch. and its chapel of St Columba, Skipness, was granted by Dubhghall son of Suibhne, to Paisley Abbey (*Parishes*, 96–97). Pres. to the vic. resided with the Crown in the 16th c. (v. inf.).

*Rectors***245. [...] 1247**

On 20 March 1247 an unnamed rect. occ. in a papal conf. of lands donated to the ch. by Dubhghall, lay patron (*Pais. Reg.*, 123).

246. Clement (Cliamhan) 1261

Named rect. 17 April 1261. Patronage of ch. was to be trans. to Paisley following his d. (*Pais. Reg.*, 120–121).

*Vicars***247. Malcolm MacDubailli / McDubailwigh (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim MacDubhghaill) × 1430**

Named last legit. vic. 12 June 1433 (v. inf.). A contemporary namesake, “Malcolm MacDugaylbyg”, can. of Ar., was still alive on 10 July 1426 (*CPL*, vii, 465).

248. Malcolm Cristini (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Ghille-Chriost) × 1430

Named late vic. 20 Feb. 1438 (*CPL*, viii, 625). As “Malcolm Cristini” he was still alive on 7 Jan. 1428 (*CPL*, viii, 10), but as “Colin” he was dead by c. 1434 (v. sup.). Prob. already d. by c. 1430 when Arous was granted coll. on grounds that it had lain vacant for such time that it had devl. to Apos. See (v. inf.). Prob. the same fig. as “MacDubailli”.

249. John Arous c. 1430, 1433

Named last vic. 4 Aug. 1432, following res. (*CSSR*, iii, 240). On 12 June 1433 named as being in poss. for 3 years, when acc. of ignorance of Gaelic (*CSSR*, iv, no. 48). He was described as the queen's secretary on 7 April 1432 (*CSSR*, iii, 216).

250. William Arous 1432

Pet. 4 Aug. 1432 on grounds that ben. had devl. to Apos. See following res. of John Arous (*CSSR*, iii, 240).

251. John Finlaius Prioris Macphilip / Macpilibh / Macphilib (Eoin mac Fhionnlaigh Phrior MacPhilib) 1433–1438

Pet. 12 June 1433 for depriv. of John Arous on grounds on ignorance of local language, although in reality Arous had already res. the ben. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 48; *CPL*, viii, 470). Obligated himself for annates 23 Sept. 1433 (*ACSB*, 114). Occ. 26 June 1436 when acc. of fornication, dilapidation, concubinage and producing offspring (v. inf.). Occ. as "John, [son of] Fynlaius Prioris Macphilib" on 20 Feb. 1438 where he faced similar charges again, and accusations of simony and "other crimes and excesses" (v. inf.). The outcome is unknown, but his subsequent disappearance from papal record may suggest depriv.

252. Johannes Dugalli MacMaelmicheill (Eoin mac Dhubhghaill MacMaoilMicheil) 1436

Pet. 26 June 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 306; *CPL*, viii, 597). A kinsman of "Dugaldus Dugaldi MacMaelmicheil", who was associated with the rect. of Kilmichael at this time (v. sup.).

253. John Bricii (Eoin mac Ghille-Brìghde) 1438

Rec. papal prov. on 20 Feb. 1438 (*CPL*, viii, 625). Obligated himself for annates 15 March 1438 (*ACSB*, 120).

254. Patrick Cornton / de Cornton 1450–1451

Occ. 6 June 1450 when acc. of manslaughter and killing in battle. Also acc. of defect of dialect and non-residency (*CSSR*, v, no. 354; *CPL*, x, 493). Still in poss. on 26 Jan. 1451, but was already in the process of res. the perp. vic. at the Apos. See, which took place sometime before 20 March 1451 (*CSSR*, v, no. 307, the date is mistakenly given as 26 Jan. 1450; *CPL*, x, 547). Killed in Dumbarton 7 Aug. 1451 (*AC*, 163).

255. Cornelius Cornelii (Conchobar mac Conchobhar(?)) 1450

Obtained *comm. priv.* against Cornton 6 June 1450 (*CSSR*, v, no. 354; *CPL*, x, 493). Prob. father of "Cornelius Junior" or Conchobar Òg / Ó Miadhaigh (v. inf., nos. 258, 265).

256. Maurice Dugaldi MacNeil (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Dhubhghaill MacNéill) 1451

As rect. of Kilmorie, Arran and of Kilblane in Kintyre, pet. 26 Jan. 1451 for prov. vacant by the imminent res. of Cornton at the Apos. See (*CSSR*, v, no. 307). As rect. of Kilblane he rec. papal prov. to vic. of Kilcalmonell on 20 March 1451, nws. his poss. of the preb. of Kilcolmkill in Kintyre and offering to res. Kilmorie on gaining poss. He also rec. disp. to hold the rect. of Kilblane and vic. of Kilcalmonell for life (*CSSR*, v, no. 427; *CPL*, x, 547. The preb. of Kilcolmkill was a sinecure and required no disp.).

257. John Malkede / Makehola 1498

Occ. 7 April 1498, when acc. of neglecting the cure and ignorance of the local vernacular (v. inf.).

258. Cornelius junior Cornelii seniorii / Conqueir Oman / Cornelius Man (Conchobar Òg mac Conchobhar Mhòir / Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh) 1498

Pet. 7 April 1498 to unite the perp. vic. with rect. of Kilmichael and preb. of Kilberry, for which he also rec. papal prov., the union to be dissolved upon his d. or res. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1057, fol. 35v; *CPL*, xvi, 869). As son of a priest, he was prob. the son of "Cornelius Cornelii" who pet. in 1450 (*CPL*, xvi, 869; v. sup., no. 255).

259. Alexandrus alias Alestir McAlestir (Alasdair MacAlasdair) × 1546–1580

Named vic. of "Colmele" on 6 March 1546 when he was pres. to the rect. of Kilchoman in Islay (*RSS*, iii, no. 1578). "Sir Alexander Makalaster" occ. as rect. of "Kilmory" (Kilmory, Arran) on 7 Jan. 1551 (*AT*, at date); "Alexandrus Makallister" was perp. vic. of Kilcalmonell on 8 May 1580 when he issued a charter of in favour of his kinsmen "Carulus Makallister", Constable of Tarbert, and the latter's son "Hectorus Mackallester" (*RMS*, v, no. 16). This is prob. "Hector McAllister", who was pres. by the Crown on 23 Aug. 1580 to the vic. of Kilcalmonell and the pars. of Kilmorie in Arran upon their res. by "Alexander McAllister" (*RSS*, vii, no. 2463).

Kilberry

Erected as preb. c. 1392, patronage residing with King of Scots (*CPL Clement VII*, 171). However, it pertained to the Lord of the Isles by 1472, until 1492 when the right was trans. to the bp. of Ar., but still described as in lay patronage in 1498 and in king's pres. in Dec. 1498 (v. inf.; *ALI*, no. 125; *CPL*, xvii, no. 869). A royal grant of 14 March 1541 confirmed the patronage of this ch. to the Earl of Ar. incorp. in the free barony of Lochawe; this was reconfirmed on 22 Oct. 1542 (*RMS*, iii, nos. 2306, 2812).

Rectors and Prebendaries

260. Mark (Marc) × 1392

Occ. posthumously 13 Jan. 1392 (*CPL Clement VII*, 171).

261. Nigel Cristini (Niall mac Ghille-Chriost) 1392–1395

Occ. 13 Jan. 1392, having been pres. by king to rect. vacant by d. of Marc. The rect. was erected into a preb. after Niall's coll. (*CPL Clement VII*, 170–171). He was the son of a Benedictine monk and occ. as can. of Ar. on 11 Nov. 1395 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 57).

262. Duncan Patricii (Donnchadh mac Phàdraig) 1427

Occ. 8 Dec. 1427 when Alasdair, Lord of the Isles pet. on his behalf for habilitation and new prov. to hold said preb. with rect. of Kilmichael. He had failed to obtain further disp. when he earlier dem. rect. of Strath, dioc. Sodr., for that of Killintag ("St Fenoge") dioc. Ar. (*CSSR*, ii, 177–178).

263. Angus Angusii de Insulis (Aonghas mac Aonghais of the Isles), bp. el. of Sodr. 1472

Occ. as bp. el. of Sodr. 1 Oct. 1472 when pet. for disp. to continue to hold preb. (*CSSR*, vi, no. 71). 15 Oct. 1472 req. to hold said preb. and rect. of Kilblane for life, noting that both were in lay patronage of Earl of R. (*ibid.*, no. 73; see *ibid.*, v, no. 1018 for his origins).

264. Master Thomas Fleming 1492–1498

Occ. as "rector" 6 Dec. 1492 when consented to trans. of patronage of said ch. from Eoin, Lord of the Isles, to bp. of Ar. (*ALI*, 199–201). Still in poss. 7 April 1498, when acc. of alienating and misusing goods of preb. and for involvement in homicide (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1057, fol. 35v; *CPL*, xvi, 869). Held the archd. of Sodr. until his d. in 1516 (*Fasti*, 273; *ALI*, appendix C, 255).

265. Cornelius junior Cornelii seniorii / Conqueir Oman / Cornelius Man (Conchobar Òg mac Conchobhar Mhòir / Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh)

1498–1531

Pet. 7 April 1498, alongside prov. to rect. Kilmichael and vic. Kilcalmonell (*CPL*, xvi, no. 869). On 13 Dec. 1498 “Conqueir Oman” was acc. by “John McVycare” of obtaining the ben. illegally at papal court (v.inf). Occ. post-humously on 23 Dec. 1531 (*RSS*, ii, no. 1095). Prob. identifiable as dean of Kintyre in 1520 and again 7 Jan. 1531 (NAS B16/1/1; J.E. Scott, “Notes on Kintyre Surnames and Families”, *TGSI* 45 (1967–68), 284–318, at 288). Prob. father of “Master Cornelius Omev”. The forename “Conqueir” is prob. conch(ogh)ar or Gaelic *Conchobar*, which evidently underlies Latin *Cornelius* in this and other cases of the Ó Miadhaigh ecclesiastical dynasty.

266. John McVycare (Eoin Mac a’Bhiocair) 1498

Plaintiff in action against Ó Miadhaigh on 13 Dec. 1498, having been pres. by Crown (*Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, volume two: AD 1496–1501*, eds. G. Neilson and H. Paton (Edinburgh, 1918) 293). Perhaps identical with “Makvicar”, a royal messenger to the rebellious Torcall (anglicised *Torquil*) MacLeòid of Lewis in 1501–1504 (*TA*, ii, 128–129, 464, 473).

267. Master Duncanus Man / Duncane Omay (Donnchadh Ó Miadhaigh)

1531

On 23 Dec. 1531 “M[aster] Duncanus Man” rec. royal pres. following d. of Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh (*RSS*, ii, no. 1095). On 1 July 1542, “Jacobus Maii”, son of “M[aster] Duncanus Maii” was pres. to the rect. of Kilchoman in Islay on 1 July 1542 (*RSS*, ii, no. 4739). This individual may be identifiable with “Master Duncan May” or “Omay”, “custumar” (customs officer) of Perth and surgeon to King James V between 1525 and 1541; on 3 July 1526 “Master Duncane Omay” was app. as the king’s principal surgeon (*RSS*, i, no. 3416; *RSS*, ii, no. 4367. See also *ER*, xv, 141, 200, 244, 311, 422; xvi, 20, 106; xvii, 44, 57, 184, 304, 395, 460, 717; *TA*, v, 382). Perhaps significantly, in 1531 this “Maister Duncan Omay” was paid for unspecified services for a royal expedition to the Isles (*TA*, v, 458, 459, 462) and as “Maister Duncane May” was one of several “gunners” in Dunaverty Castle, Kintyre, to rec. a royal gift of clothing in 1541 (*TA*, vii, 444). This individual also appears to have been married; on 26 April 1529 a royal payment was made to Katherine Weir, sister of “Maister Duncanis wyfe” (*TA*, v, 378).

268. Master Cornelius Omeigh / Omeigh (Conchobar Ó Miadhaigh) 1550–1574

Occ. as “rector” Oct. 1550 and as “canon” on 6 and 16 May 1556, and 30 April 1559 (AT, at dates). Also occ. as dean of Kintyre, 7 Jan. 1551 (signing as notary “Cornelius Omeigh, Dean of Kintyre”) and 23 May 1553 (AT at dates). Still in poss. 14 Feb. 1574 (Haws, *Clergy*, 120); occ. as dean of Kintyre on 26 May 1574 (NAS GD112/51/39/3).

Vicars

269. Yvarus Colini (Ìomhar mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) × 1436

Occ. 7 July 1436, when acc. of alienating and dilapidating goods of vic., keeping a concubine and continuing to celebrate the divine offices, thus incurring excommunication. Also allegedly res. the vic. in exch. for an unnamed vic. in Ar. held by “Colin Macagaell”, but then dem. it and returned to the vic. without disp. (v. inf.).

270. Colin Macagaell (Gille-Coluim / Maol-Coluim / Cailean Macagaell) × 1436

Allegedly obtained vic. by exch. with “Yvarus Colini” before 7 July 1436 (v. inf.).

271. Yvarus Colini (Ìomhar mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim / Chailein) 1436

Occ. again in poss. 7 July 1436 and appears to have lost poss. (v. inf.).

272. Gofredus Gofredi Doncani / Gotheray McForsan (Gofraidh mac Ghofraidh mhic Dhonnchaidh Mac a’Phearsain) 1436–1454

7 July 1436 obtained *comm. priv.* against incumbent “Yvarus Colini”, nws. defect of age, being just 24 years old (CSSR, iv, no. 312; *CPL*, viii, 596). In poss. 20 Feb. 1438, when acc. of dilapidation, perjury, simony and other crimes (*CPL*, viii, 625). In poss. 23 Jan. 1451, when rec. papal prov. to preb. of Glassary (*CPL*, x, 470). Occ. 29 Aug. 1452 (*AC*, 168). Still in poss. 3 April 1454, when acc. of hindering the preb. of Glassary (*CPL*, x, 692).

273. Roderick Doncani (Ruairidh mac Dhonnchaidh) 1438

Pet. 20 Feb. 1438 (v. sup.).

274. Master Johannes Moffat 1467

Occ. as vic. of “Kilbrry” or “Kilbuy” 6 May 1467 (NLS, Adv. MS.19.2.20, p. 76).

Kilmacocharmik / Keills

Annexed to Kilwinning Abbey since mid-13th c. A papal comm. to grant conf. was dated 2 Nov. 1329, but papal conf. did not follow until 1 April 1333 (*Parishes*, 102; *CPL*, ii, 311, 383; *Vet. Mon.*, 248–249, 257–258; *Lettres Communes* [of] *Jean XXII* (1316–1334): *analysées d’après les registres dits d’Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat, 16 vols. (Paris, 1904–47), ix, 70, no. 47173; xii, 125, no. 59940).

*Rectors***275. Mauricius (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris) 1235 x**

Occ. as rect. of “Chillmacdachormes” in charter dated c. 1235 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

*Vicars***276. Eumenide / Ewminede Henrisone / Einenides Hendersoun / Edmund Henderson 1539–1551**

Occ. 20 July 1539 and 1 April 1545 (*RMS*, iii, no. 3245). Res. ben. on pres. of James Lindsay in 1551 (v. inf.).

277. James Lindsay 1551

Royal pres. 6 May 1551 (*RSS*, iv, no. 1184). Perhaps identical with Sir James Lindsay, chaplain, father of Laurence Lindsay (*ibid.*, no. 1255).

DEANERY OF LORN

Kilchattan

Rect. in lay patronage in 1404 and 1409 (v. inf.). Patronage of vic. unknown.

*Rectors***278. Nigel Colini Campbell (Niall mac Chailein Caimbeul) 1395–1397**

Occ. 6 Nov. 1395, but on 11 Nov. 1395 willing to dem. for archd. of Ar. nws. defect of age being just 22 years old (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 56, 57). Still in poss. 19 Oct. 1397 (*ibid.*, 76).

279. Celestinus Celestini Macgillemichael (Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1403 × 1404

Occ. 19 Oct. 1404, when ch. was allegedly despoiled by “powerful laymen” (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 125, 126). He was evidently no longer rect. when he stated this again on 9 Dec. 1409, adding that he was a papal familiar (*ibid.*, 213–214).

280. Gilbert McVraey (Gille-Brighde McVraey) 1529

Occ. 1529 (AT, at date).

281. Neil Campbell (Niall Caimbeul) 1548–1576

Occ. 31 Jan. 1548; still in poss. 16 May 1576 (AT, at date; RSS, vii, no. 598).

Vicars

282. William Elachtane (Uilleam Elachtane) 1544

Occ. 3 Dec. 1544 (AT, at date).

Kilbrandon

Annexed to Ardchattan Priory at Reformation (*Parishes*, 95); patronage of vic. unknown.

Vicars

283. Iain MacPhail (Iain MacPhàil) 1530

Occ. 29 April 1530 (AT, at date). As “Johannes Pauli” pres. to rect. of Dunlichty, dioc. M., 6 May 1537 (AT, at date).

284. Patrick McAn(r)dene / Densone (Pàdraig mac an deadhain) 1558–1579

Occ. 27 May 1558 (AT, at date) and 1579 (Haws, *Clergy*, 120). *Patrick* was a characteristic forename of the MacLachlainn kindred of Kilbride (Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 3, 5).

Kilmelfort

Rect. in patronage of Lord of Lochawe in 1404, 1409, and of Lord of Ardscofnish in 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 125, 213–214, 243–244). Asserted by Cowan (*Parishes*, 105) to have been annexed to Kilmun Collegiate Ch., although the first support for this does not occ. until 1557 (v. inf., no. 291).

*Rectors***285. Nigel Cristini (Niall mac Ghille-Chriost) × 1392**

Named former rect. of par. ch. of “St Molrwe” on 13 Jan. 1392 (*CPL Clement VII*, 170–171). This name-form might also conceivably refer to Killarow or Arisaig, though a papal letter in June 1398 indicates the latter possibility as less likely (v. inf.). He became preb. of Kilberry (v. sup.).

286. Dugald Machenrych / MacHenrygh (Dubhghall MacEanraig) × 1403

Occ. posthumously as rect. of “St Molrue de Melferth” on 19 Oct. 1404. His successor was already in poss. by 1403 (v. inf.; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 125, 126, 214).

287. Celestinus Celestini Macgillemichael (Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1403–1428

Occ. July 1403 (AT, at date). 19 Oct. 1404 obtained indult abolishing inhab. and disp. to hold the rect., following pres. by the lay patron (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 125, 126). Occ. 11 Nov. 1409 alleging ch. was despoiled and rec. disp. for Kilfinan ch. (ibid., 212). 11 Dec. 1409 claimed poss. for “several years” before being depriv. and imprisoned by bp. of Ar. (ibid., 214–215). As a papal familiar, he rec. support of papal *camerarius* in dispute with Bp. Beathán of Ar.; 20 Dec. 1409 a mand. sent to dean of Glas. to excommunicate bp. and his supporters if they had acted against exemptions to which papal familiars and officials were entitled, and to revoke any measures taken against Gill-easbuig (*Reg. Aven.*, 335, fols. 482v–483). 13 Aug. 1411 acc. of dilapidating goods, owing epis. revenues and of being a notorious concubinary (ibid., 243). Still in poss. 4 June 1414 (AT, at date). 5 March 1423 req. disp. to hold said. ben. with Kilfinan vic. for life (*CSSR*, ii, 7–8; cf. *HP*, ii, 176–178, where it is dated 6 March); occ. 20 March 1423 (*CSSR*, ii, 13; *CPL*, vii, 268; *HP*, ii, 180), 7 Dec. 1427 and 29 Feb. 1428 (*CSSR*, ii, 177, 189).

288. Gilbert Machperson / MacPerson (Gille-Brìghde Mac a'Phearsain) 1409–1411

Occ. 11 Dec. 1409 when app. by Bp. Beathán of Ar. and held it together with perp. vic. of Glassary; named can. of Ar. on 20 Feb. 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 214, 233). 16 May 1411 held said ben. as a preb. attached to his canonry of Ar.; in a bull dated 13 Aug. 1411 it is asserted that this ch. had been united to a can. and preb. Gille-Brìghde already held. He had prob. lost poss. by this date, but not decisively, because a papal mand. in favour of Gill-easbuig mac Ghille-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil was now put into question by a papal comm. in favour of Gille-Brìghde. By this point he was also rect.

of Glassary (*ibid.*, 236, 243–244). He still held an unnamed preb. of Ar. on 13 Feb. 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 173).

289. Dugallus (Dubhghall) 1439

Occ. 13 May 1439 (AT, at date). Not identifiable with Dubhghall of Lochawe, who was already an MA in 1433.

290. Mauricius Alarn (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris *Alarn*) 1473

Occ. as “parson of Melport” on 19 May 1473 (*NLS*, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fol. 14r).

291. Master Archibald MacVicar (Gill-easbuig Mac a’Bhiocair) 1557–61

Occ. 1557, when as “rector of Milport”, he granted away lands pertaining to the rect. in feu ferm, with consent of the bp. and chp. of Ar., of the provost and prebendaries of Kilmun Collegiate Ch. and of the Earl of Ar., and his son, patrons (AT at date). Occ. 9 Oct. 1561 when as rect. of “Melphort”, he and fellow chaplains of Kilmun Collegiate Ch. granted a charter of feu ferm (AT, at date). A Crown conf. of this feu charter was issued on 24 March 1573, which styled “Archibald Makvicar” as “provost of Melphort” (*RSS*, vi, no. 1915).

Curate

292. Gilbert Dowf (Gille-Brìghde *Dubh*) 1553

Occ. 10 April 1553 (AT, at date). Haws’s (*Clergy*, 130) reference to a “Finlay McOlchallam” as curate is presumably an error.

Kilninver

Rect. annexed to Ardchattan Priory in c. 1371 (*Parishes*, 108).

Rectors

293. Georgius (Seòras(?)) 1250

Occ. 27 Sept. 1250 (*Pais. Reg.*, 134).

294. Cristine MacGillemichael (Gille-Chriost MacGille-Mhicheil)

× 1371

Exch. ben. with prior of Ardchattan for prec. of Ar. approx. 24 years before 1395 (v. inf.).

295. Martin Filani (Màrtainn mac Ghille-Fhaolain) prior of Ardchattan 1371 × 1395

Allegedly held the ben. for 24 years without disp. (*CPP*, 584; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 40–41). Certainly held priory on 12 Oct. 1371 (*HP*, ii, 147). However, a pet. dated 27 Aug. 1425 asserted that the exch. of Kilninver for the prec. of Ar. was actually attributable to Prior “Maurice” (v. inf.).

296. Gilletawes / Gillecalver Willelmi ((?) Gille-Tòmas mac Uilleim) × 1395

Named former rect. 1 July 1395; canonically coll. and held ben. for over a year, but without promotion to priest’s orders (*CPP*, 584; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 40–41). Perhaps preceded Gille-Chriost MacGille-Mhìcheil as rect.

297. Cristin Duncani (Gille-Chriost mac Dhonnchaidh) 1395

Pet. 1 July 1395 (*CPP*, 584; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 40–41).

298. Maurice (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris) prior of Ardchattan 1395 × 1425

On 27 Aug. 1425 identified by Prior “Patrick” as the late prior of Ardchattan who exch. the prec. with Gille-Chriost MacGille-Mhìcheil for said ben. (*CSSR*, ii, 112; Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 10).

299. Patrick (Pàdraig) prior of Ardchattan 1425

Occ. 27 Aug. 1425, when he expressed wish to annul exch. of prec. of Ar. for said rect., it being both invalid and economically harmful to the monastery (*CSSR*, ii, 112). The req. failed.

After this date Kilninver prob. remained in the hands of the priors of Ardchattan, which in the later 15th c. was dominated by members of Clann Dubhghaill. (See Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 10–11)

300. John Pauli / John Macphail (Eoin / Iain MacPhàil) 1558–1571

Occ. as rect. and as “portioner of Ardchattan” in 1558 (*OPS*, 2:1, 105). Still in poss. in 1561 and on 14 Feb. 1571 “Jhone Mcfaill parson of Kilnynvir” occ. alongside his 5 sons, incl. “Jhone Mcfaill, vicar of Kilmallie”, when they were signatories to a bond of manrent to Eoin Caimbeul of Cawdor (Haws, *Clergy*, 132; *Cawdor Bk.*, 177).

Kilbride

Annexed to epis. *mensa* in 1249 (*Parishes*, 95). The det. of vic. in c. 1412 × 1420 suggests that patronage still pertained to bp. of Ar. (v. inf.).

Vicars

301. Morice Johannis (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Eoin) × 1395

Named former perp. vic. of “St Brigide in Loorn” on 11 Nov. 1395; canonically coll. and allegedly held ben. for over a year without promotion to priesthood (*Reg. Vat.*, 321, fols. 223–224; *Reg. Aven.*, 298, fol. 41r; cf. *CPL Benedict XIII*, 57).

302. Cristinus Macamanach / Macanmanaich / Macamanich / in Hemanach / Macanmanaich (Gille-Chriost MacChananaich) 1395

Occ. 11 Nov. 1395 (v. sup.). D. by 17 Sept. 1425 when described as last true former vic. (*CSSR*, ii, 116, 119; *CPL*, vii, 406–7). Prob. identical to “Cristin Meicamanaig”, former vic. of Kilbodan (v. inf.).

303. Duncan Martini (Donnchadh mac Mhàrtainn) 1395
Rec. papal prov. to perp. vic. 11 Nov. 1395 (v. sup.).

304. Bean, bp. of Ar. (Beathán [MacGill-Anndrais]) (?)¹⁴¹² × 1420
On 11 March 1425 allegedly held poss. for 8 years along with the bp. (*CSSR*, ii, 79, 116). He was d. by 29 Jan. 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 157).

305. Cristin Torleti (Gille-Chriost mac Theàrlaich) × 1420
Coll. by chp. during epis. vacancy, and pet. for new prov. 3 June 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 203–4). Therefore already in poss. before 31 Jan. 1420 when Finlay of Albany was el. to bp. (*Fasti*, 36).

306. Gilbert Maclaclan or Torleti / Gilbert McLathane (Gille-Brighde mac Theàrlaich MacLachlainn) 1422 × 1424

Named on 11 March 1425 as former vic., for “several years”, and on 17 Sept. 1425 for 1 and a half years (*CSSR*, ii, 79, 116). 21 May 1425 he asserted that he dem. the vic. and obtained the chancellorship, which he had now held for over a year (*CSSR*, ii, 89).

307. Bricius Kennici (Gille-Brighde mac Choinnich) 1424–1425

11 March 1425 acc. of det. vic. for over 1 and a half years, and for under 2 years on 17 Sept. 1425. He was still in poss. on 28 Sept. 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 79, 116; *CPL*, vii, 406–7).

308. Bean David (Beathán mac Dhaibhidh) 1425

Pet. several times between 11 March and 28 Sept. 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 79, 83, 103, 113, 119; see also *CPL*, vii, 406–7). Paid annates 17 Oct. 1425 (*GUS*, PRO 31/9/27, 137–138).

309. Salamon David (Solam mac Dhaibhidh) 1425

Named as pet. for the ben. on 17 Sept. 1425, and as the beneficiary in marginalia of pet. of Beathán mac Dhaibhidh, dated 10 July 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 103, 116). It is possible that these pet. were made by Beathán in person at the *Curia* on behalf of the absent Solam, who was prob. his brother, leading to confusion over the supplicant.

310. Patrick (Pàdraig) 1470

Occ. 21 March 1470. Possibly a MacLachlainn of Kilbride (*AT*, at date; Bannerman, “MacLachlans of Kilbride”, 3, 5, 28, table, 29, n. 9).

Kilmore

Abortive erection as preb. in 1380, occ. as rect. in lay patronage in 1380 and 1425 (*CPL Clement VII*, 49–50; *CSSR*, ii, 104, 105–6; *CPL*, vii, 407). Supplications asserting that the ch. had been granted to Ardchattan are prob. attributable to confusion with Kilninver, both churches being dedicated to the same saint, Bean (*CSSR*, ii, 105–6, 108–9; iv, no. 320; Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.). In 1553 a dispute over the patronage of ben. in Lorn was settled between the Earl of Ar. and Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy, with patronage of the rect. of Kilmore res. to the earl (*OPS*, 2:1, 119, 161). Some of the 16th c. rectors may conceivably relate to the par. ch. of Kilmore or Kilmoir in Strathlachlan, Cowal, and not Kilmore in Lorn. We can, however, be confident that the pres. made by the Lord of Glenorchy concern Kilmore (NAS GD112/51/107 nos. 1, 2, which pertain to nos. 324, 325, 327, 328). Patronage of vic. unknown.

*Rectors***311. Master John (Eoin) 1244**

21 May 1244 occ. as rect. of “St Bean Major” and bp. el. of Ar. (*CPL*, i, 209).

312. Michael (Micheal) 1304

Occ. as rect. of "Kylmoore" 10 Sept. 1304 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

313. Dugallus Petri / Dugal de Lorne / Dugal de Ergadia (Dubhghall mac Ghille-Pheadair of Lorn / of Argyll) 1371–1380 x

Occ. 12 Oct. 1371 (*HP*, ii, 147–148) and as can. of Ar. on the erection of ben. as a preb. on 5 May 1380 (*HP*, iv, 137–138). This erection was conf. by bp. and chp. as he appears as holding a can. and preb. of Ar. on 11 March 1380 (*CPP*, 554). Kilmore may still have been a preb. in 2 June 1380 (*CPP*, 554). Following promotion to see of Db., obtained disp. to hold ben. *in commendam* on 11 Oct. 1380 (*CPL Clement VII*, 49, 49–50).

314. John de Cornton × 1394

Named former rect. 4 Sept. 1395; following exch. for vic. of Monzievaird (v. inf.).

315. John Dugaldi / John Dugalli alias Clerk alias de Lorne (Eoin mac Dhubhghaill alias Clerk alias of Lorn) 1394

Obtained through exch. with Cornton (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 46). In a pet. dated 26 Oct. 1394 he pet. for a can. of Ar. with reservation of a preb. and described himself as holding the ch. of Kilmore (*CPP*, 591). However, many exp. graces issued at the start of Benedict XIII's pontificate were backdated, so it is uncertain whether Eoin was actually in poss. at this date (Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.). He rec. new prov. to Kilmore par. ch. on 4 Sept. 1395, having doubted the validity of his poss. following his exch. with John de Cornton (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 46–47). 17 Sept. 1395 obtained indult to rec. fruits of ben. while studying (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 49–50). Prob. occ. as can. of Dk. 30 July 1406 (*Seventh report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, part 1: Report and Appendix* (London, 1879), 706). He d. before 12 July 1425, possibly 8 and a half years before if he was "the last true rector" who preceded Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein (*CSSR*, ii, 104, see also *CSSR*, iv, no. 320).

316. Michael (Micheal) × 1417

Named last true rect. and poss. on 12 July 1425. Apparently in poss. before either Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein or John de Aran. (*CSSR*, ii, 105).

317. Co[n]gan McFaden / Machabei / Maculrii / Mutuben (Gille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein) × 1417–1424

Named former rect. 10 July 1425 and said to have previously held ben. for over 7 years, and for over 1 month uncanonically with prec. of Ar. (*CSSR*, ii, 104). D. by 17 Sept. 1436 and his son Muiris had taken poss. by 1431. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 318).

318. John de Aran / de Adam 1424–1425

Occ. 10 July 1425, when allegedly had poss. for over 1 and a half years (*CSSR*, ii, 104). Acc. of being a fictitious poss. and a non-resident, 17 Sept. 1436 and 15 Oct. 1436 (v. inf.).

319. Salamon David (Solam mac Dhaibhidh) 1425

Pet. 10 July 1425, nws. prov. to Kilmallie ch. (*CSSR*, ii, 104).

320. John Colini / John Malcolmi (Eoin mac Ghille-Coluim / Mhaoil-Chaluim) 1425, 1436

Pet. 12 July 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 105). Pet. 26 July 1425 to hold vic. and rect. of Kilmore together for life (*CSSR*, ii, 108–9). 27 Aug. 1425 rec. papal mand. to deprive John de Aran, rect., and “Maurice Fullonis”, vic., and hold both ben. together only for 7 years (*CSSR*, ii, 111–112; *CPL*, vii, 407). On 13 Nov. 1425 Eoin offered to dem. this mand. in favour of prov. to the rect. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern, for which he had rec. prov. on 24 Oct. 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 120–121). He occ. as vic. of Kilmore when he pet. for rect. 17 Sept. and 15 Oct. 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, nos. 318, 320).

321. Maurice son of Conghan / Maurice MacFadyen / Morris McFadzane (Muiris / Muireadhach / Murchadh mac Ghille-Chòmhghain MacPhaidein) × 1431–1436

Occ. 17 Sept. 1436, allegedly holding ben. undisp. for 5 years, having directly succ. his father Gille-Chòmhghain, and without disp. for illegit. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 318). He was under 25 years old when promoted to priesthood (*CSSR*, iv, no. 320. See also *CSSR*, v, no. 418).

322. Johannes (Eoin) 1469

Occ. as “dominus Johannes rector de Kelmour”, when incorp. into Glas. Univ. in 1469 (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 75).

323. Master Patrick Grahame 1544

Occ. as rect. of “Kilmoir” on 26 April 1544 (GD 112/2/81 no. 5).

324. Master Alexander MacCawis (Alasdair MacThàmais) 1547 × 1549

Occ. as rect. of “Kylmoir” on 18 June 1547 (AT, at date). D. sometime during this decade (v. inf.).

325. Thomas Reddocht 1547 × 1549

Letters by Eoin Caimbeul of Glenorchy, Lord of the third part of Lorne, addressed to William, Bp. of Ar., in charter dated 154 [blank], narrating that he pres. Thomas to par. ch. of “Kilmoir” dioc. of Ar., vacant by d. of “Mr Alexander McCawiss” (NAS GD112/51/107 no. 1).

326. Alexander MaKalaster (Alasdair MacAlasdair) 1551

Occ. as rect. of “Kilmore” on 7 Jan. 1551 at Mingary Castle, though this ch. could refer to either Kilmore in Mull or Strathlachlan (AT, at date).

327. Master Niall MacArthur (Niall MacArtair) 1552

Occ. as rect. of “Kilmoire” on 16 Jan. 1552 and of “Kilmor” on 23 April 1552 (AT, at dates). D. by 27 Aug. 1552 (v. inf.).

328. Niall McTavish (Niall MacThàmhais) 1552

Occ. as rect. of “Kilmoir” on 1 May 1552 (AT, at date). Possibly identical with above fig. of MacArtair or “Niall McYltomish”, vic. of Stronmagachan (v. sup., no. 140).

329. Mr William Ramsay 1552

An instrument of 27 Aug. 1552 narrated letters of pres. addressed to William, Bp. of Ar., by Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy, patron thereof, pres. Ramsay to the rect. of “Kylmore” following the d. of last poss. “Mr Neil MakArthour” (NAS GD 112/51/107 no. 2; see also MacGregor, “MacGregors”, 250 and n. 285).

330. Master Patrick Graham 1553–1570

Occ. as rect. of “Kilmoire” on 9 July 1553 (AT, at date). Occ. as “Mr Patrick Graham, parson of Kilmoir” on 26 April 1554 (GD112/75/19). Master Patrick Graham was rect. of “Kilmore” on 11 May 1558, when he was recommended to be el. to the clerical office of “Junthelane” by Cailean Caimbeul of Armadill, following the d. of sir Gamin Boill [Gavin Boyle] (GD50/186/7/2).

Still in poss. in 1570 (Haws, *Clergy*, 131). However, a “Ewan Campbroun” is listed as “parson of Kilmore” on 15 Jan. 1571 (GD112/51/107, no. 4).

Vicars

331. Peter Donald (Peadair mac Dhòmhnaill) × 1413

Occ. posthumously 26 July 1425. Canonically coll. and poss. this ben. over a year, but failed to obtain disp. for non-promotion to priesthood (CSSR, ii, 109; *CPL*, vii, 407).

332. Maurice Fullonis (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris Fullonis) 1413–1425

Occ. 26 July 1425 when alleged to have det. the ben. for over 12 years (*CPL*, vii, 407).

333. John Malcolmi (Eoin mac Mhaoil-Chaluim / Ghille-Coluim) 1425, 1436

On 26 July 1425 req. disp. to hold the rect. and vic. of Kilmore for life (CSSR, ii, 109); on 27 Aug. 1425 a papal mand. to remove John de Aran, rect., and “Maurice Fullonis”, vic. and hold both ben. together only for 7 years, although Eoin had repeated the req. to hold both for life (CSSR, ii, 111–112; *CPL*, vii, 407). On 13 Nov. 1425 Eoin offered to dem. this mand. in favour of prov. to the rect. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern, for which he had rec. prov. on 24 Oct. 1425 (CSSR, ii, 120–121). He occ. as vic. 17 Sept. 1436 and 15 Oct. 1436 (CSSR, iv, nos. 318, 320).

334. Nigellus Mcilpeder (Niall MacGille-Pheadair) 1473

Occ. as “vicar of Kilmor” on 19 May 1473 (NLS, Adv MS. 19.2.23, fol. 14r).

Lochawe

Also known as Kilchrenan. On 16 Oct. 1434 Eòghan mac Eòghainn MacCòrcadail, Lord of Phantilands, res. patronage to Donnchadh Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe (AT, at date). Cowan’s assertion (*Parishes*, 98) that this ch. was annexed to Kilmun in 1441 is based on a misreading of an obligation for the payment of annates for Kilmun, Lochgoilhead and Glenorchy by rect. of Lochawe on 5 Oct. 1441 (ACSB, 129–130). Patronage of vic. unknown.

*Rectors***335. Nicholas (Neacal / Cailean) 1361**

Occ. 16 Aug. 1361 (AT, at date).

336. John Malcolm 1392

9 June 1392 recorded as having been trans. by ord. auth. from Lochgoilhead rect. to Lochawe rect. (*CPL Clement VII*, 175). Possibly identical to “John Malcolmi”, vic. of Kilmore (v. sup., nos. 320, 333).

337. Fynlaius (Fionnlagh) 1394–1403

Occ. 1394 and July 1403 (*OPS*, 2:1, 121; AT, at date).

338. Master Dugall de Lochawe / Campbell (Dubhghall Caimbeul of Lochawe) 1430–1441 × 1453

Occ. 6 May 1430, 13 May 1433, 30 Aug. 1433 and 10 May 1437 (AT, at dates; *Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus*, ed. D.E. Easson, 2 vols. (SHS, 1947), ii, 20–21. *HMC*, Fourth Report, 483–484, omits mention of ben.). 2 Aug. 1441 obtained disp. to retain rect. with the archd. (*CSSR*, iv, nos. 782, 789, 800, 806). Poss. prob. continued with the archd., which he still held on 11 May 1453 (NLS, Adv. MS 19.2.20, p. 45). Perhaps not d. until c. 1482 (*Abstract of Protocol Book of Stirling, AD 1469–1484*, 52).

339. John / Iain Dewar (Iain Mac an Deòir) 1481–1485

Occ. 25 May 1481, 10 Dec. 1481, 25 July 1483 and 18 Dec. 1485 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 63; AT, at dates; NAS GD112/2/109/7).

340. Andrew Cunningham 1491–1520

Occ. frequently between 21 Jan. 1491 (*James Young Protocol Bk.*, no. 406) and 11 Sept. 1520 but d. by 3 April 1522 (*Gavin Ros Protocol Bk.*, nos. 419, 420, 546). The identification of “Kilcrinane” with Kilchrenan is incorrect (*Acts of the Lords of Council, volume 3, 1501–1503*, ed. A.B. Calderwood (Edinburgh, 1993), 140).

341. Master John / Iain Campbell (Iain Caimbeul) 1528–1532

Occ. frequently between 12 Feb. 1528 and 12 June 1532 (AT, at dates). A reference to him as rect. on 18 June 1536 is presumably an error (AT, at date). Possibly identical to the rect. of Kilmartin, 1536–1544 (v. sup., no. 148).

342. Master Donald Brown 1533–1544

Occ. 12 Aug. 1533 (GD 112/1/44) and frequently thereafter between 8 May 1534 and 6 Oct. 1544 (AT, at dates; see also *RMS*, iii, no. 1689 for occ. 16 June 1536). Reference to a “Master John Brown” in poss. on 12 Sept. 1543 is prob. an error (AT, at date).

343. Master Lauchlan MacCauis (Lachlann MacThàmais) 1547

Occ. 9 Oct. 1547 (AT, at date) and 7 Nov. 1547 (NAS GD112/51/39/2).

344. Niall McVicar / McVickar (Niall Mac a’Bhiocair) 1556

As “Niall MacVicar” occ. as rect. 24 Feb. 1556 and 16 May 1556 (*Poltalloch Writs*, 142; AT, at date). A “Niall McPeter rector of Soan?” occ. 6 May 1556 (AT, at date), while a “Neill McCallum, persoun of Lochaw” occ. in undated bond of manrent to Cailean Caimbeul of Glenorchy (*BBT*, 190–191).

*Vicars***345. Dougall McKellar (Dubhghall MacEalair)** 1556

Occ. 16 June 1556 (AT, at date).

Inishail

The pars. of the ch. of “Saint Findoca of Inchalt” was annexed to Inchaffray Abbey on 29 June 1257 (*Inchaffray Chrs.*, 75–76).

*Vicars***346. Master Rolandus / Lauchlan MacCauis (Lachlann MacThàmais)** 1533–1545

Occ. frequently between 10 Dec. 1533 and 12 Sept. 1543, prob. still in poss. 29 June 1545 (AT, at date; *RMS*, iii, no. 3132; *LMMS*, 138). Poss. prob. followed shortly after 4 April 1529, when the Earl of Ar. granted lands and responsibility for the chapel of St Fyndoc founded in the Isle of Inishail and celebration of mass to “Duncanus Makcaus” and his heirs (AT, at date; *RMS*, iv, no. 1025). Lachlann was prob. trans. directly to the said ben. from vic. of Lochgoilhead (v. sup.).

347. Duncanus MacCauis (Donnchadh MacThàmais) 1545 × 1559

Named as vic. on graveslab inscription. Occ. sometime between 1545, the last date Lachlann was vic., and Feb. 1559, when the lands associated with the MacThàmais family were granted to John Carswell. Possibly the son

of Lachlann (*LMMS*, 137–139; *RCAHMS, Argyll*, ii, no. 247). A “Duncan McCawe” was prec. of Ar. on 30 April 1540 (*Fasti*, 42).

Muckairn

Annexed to Dk. bp. at Reformation; named as of Dk. dioc. in 1436, so perhaps annexed since foundation of see in 12th c. (*Parishes*, 102; v. inf.). Patronage of vic. exercised by Crown in 1527 (v. inf.). This was issued to the vic. general of Sodr., but no dioc. was mentioned (v. inf.). A papal supplication of 17 May 1532 by the bp. of Sodr. and commendator of Iona for the ch. of “Mocarur”, describes it as pertaining to Dk. dioc., and indicates that it formed part of the abbacy of Iona, when it and the fruits of Bute and Arran were assigned as a pension for the previous bp. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2080, fol. 103r; Dilworth, “Iona Abbey”, 85, 86). This was ratified by a papal conf. on 5 Nov. 1534 (*Reg. Vat.*, 1741, fols. 212r–212v). On 8 Aug. 1532 lands in Muckairn which belonged to Iona abbacy were alienated by the bp. for an annual cash payment because he and his predecessors had been unable to collect their lawful revenues (*Cawdor Bk.*, 156–158). No mention was made of the ch. and a later Crown pres. to the vic. in 1583 assigned it to the sheriffdom and dioc. of Ar. (*RSS*, viii, no. 1590).

Vicars

348. Kemicus [*lege* Kennicius] **Dugalla McGilloon** (Coinneach mac Dhubhghaill MacGhill'onfhaidh) × 1430

Occ. posthumously on 15 Nov. 1436. Allegedly held ben. for over a year without disp. for non-promotion to priesthood. It is uncertain whether he is identical with another “Kemicuis”, also named late vic., who entered religion (v. inf.). ‘MacGhill'onfhaidh’ (anglicised as *MacGillonie*), was the name of an old sept of Clann Chamshroin associated with Strone in Lochaber (*Surnames*, 502).

349. John Nigelli (Eoin mac Niall) × 1430–1436

Occ. 15 Nov. 1436 when acc. to have det. ben. for past 6 years (v. inf.).

350. Cristinus Moricii Mackellichan (Gille-Chriost mac Mhurchaidh / Mhuireadaigh / Mhuirich (?) MacCeallaichean) 1436

Pet. 15 Nov. 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 322; see also *Surnames*, 529).

351. Johannes Leiche (Eoin Lighiche) 1527

Named late vic. 31 March 1527 (v. inf.).

352. Johannes Makgregour (Eoin MacGriogair) 1527

Pres. 31 March 1527 (*RSS*, i, no. 3705).

353. Master Niall McArthur (Niall MacArtair) 1552–1553

A “Mr Neil Artor, vicar of Moncary” is thought to occ. on 14 Feb. 1552 (NAS GD112/56/3). Occ. 24 July 1553 (AT, at date).

*Parish Clerk***354. Duncan, son of Odo MacDunlewe (Donnchadh mac Aoidh MacDhuinnshlèibhe) 1541**

El. 12 March 1541 (*HMC*, Second Report, (London, 1871), 193).

Glenorchy

Rect. in lay patronage in 1441, when annexed to Kilmun Collegiate Ch. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 791). The right of Kilmun to present to vic. was disputed by bp. of Ar. in 1471 (v. inf.).

*Rectors***355. Nicholas (Neacal / Cailean) 1392 × 1425**

Occ. as rect. of “Dyserd” in undated charter of conf. to the daughter of Cailean Caimbeul, Lord of Lochawe (*Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax*, 65–66).

356. Eugenius (Eòghan) 1434

Occ. 2 Jan. 1434 (*HP*, ii, 202).

357. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1559–1573

Provost of Kilmun. Occ. 2 Dec. 1559, still in poss. 23 Nov. 1571. He was d. 18 Sept. 1573 (Haws, *Clergy*, 100).

*Vicars***358. James de Lawedre (Lauder) 1441**

Occ. 2 Aug. 1441, when acc. of being unable to serve cure due to ignorance of the local idiom (*CSSR*, iv, no. 787). Occ. as vic. of Kippen 20 Nov. 1454 (NAS GD112/1/8).

359. Morice Patricii Hilarii (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Phàdraig mhic Ealair) 1441

Pet. 2 Aug. 1441 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 787).

360. Robert Anderson × 1471

Named last vic. 25 Sept. 1471 (v. inf.).

361. Alanus Ouchtre / Oghtre (Ailean MacUchtraigh) 1471–1481

Coll. by bp. of Ar. 25 Sept. 1471 following dispute with Kilmun Collegiate Ch. (NLS, Adv. MS. 19.2.23, fol. 6v). Occ. 25 May 1481 (*Lamont Papers*, no. 63).

362. Master Gilbertus Borach / Borroch / Lorry / Duncani (Gille-Brìghde Borroch mac Dhonnchaidh) 1498–1523

Occ. 5 Oct. 1498 (*RMS*, ii, no. 2461), and 18 Aug. 1502 (AT, at date). Occ. in poss. 21 Sept. 1510 (as “sir Gilbert Lorry”) and 3 Nov. 1513 (NAS GD112/25/4, GD112/2/71, no. 12). Recorded as d. 1 Sept. 1523 (*BBT*, 118). As “Gilbert Duncani” or “Barrouch” he was chancellor of Ar., 1480–1491 (*Fasti*, 43).

363. William Elsynder 1547

Occ. as vic. 7 Nov. 1547 (NAS GD112/51/39/2). The surname is a variant of ‘Alexander’ (*Surnames*, 244).

*Curate***364. Gavin (Gabhan)** 1449

Occ. 15 March 1449 (AT, at date).

Kilbodan in Benderloch

Annexed to Ardchattan Priory, prob. since mid-13th c., to which the vic. also pertained in 1420 (*Parishes*, 8).

*Vicars***365. Cristin Micamanaig / Meicamanaig [*lege* Macannanaig > Maccananiach]** (Gille-Chriost MacChananaich) × 1420

Pet. of 15 April 1420 erroneously named this individual as the last incumbent, but this was rectified in pet. of 4 July 1420, where “Laurence” is named last incumbent (*CSSR*, i, 188, 214). Gille-Chriost was prob. in poss. before this individual.

366. Laurence Comedini / Maccomdyn (Labhrun / Labhrann mac Ghille-Coimded MacGille-Coimded) × 1420

Named last legit. poss. 14 Feb. 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 174, see also 214). A “Murcardus MacGillacommeyg” was named late vic. of Kilchoman, Islay in 1436, while

a “Nigel Comedun” was named late rect. of Kilchattan, Gigha in 1450 (*CPL*, viii, 597; *CSSR*, v, no. 356; *LMMS*, 158). It is most likely that “Comedini” here represents a patronymic Ghille-Coimded rather than the kindred name.

367. Eugenuis (Eòghan) monk × 1420

A monk of Ardchattan, named in a pet. of 14 Feb. 1420. He was said to have ruled the vic., “contrary to the disposition of the founder and the custom of the country, having no privilege or indult for the purpose, and after him followed certain others uncanonically” (v. inf.). Therefore, he and MacGille-Coimded were prob. in poss. a number of years before 1420.

368. Maurice Johannis Macgillemichel (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris mac Eoin MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1420

Req. prov. 14 Feb. 1420 nws. poss. of the treas. of Ar. (*CSSR*, i, 174).

369. Celestine Macgillemicheil (Gill-easbuig MacGille-Mhìcheil) 1420

Pet. 15 April 1420, void by d. of “Cristin Micamanaig” (*CSSR*, i, 188); rectified to “Laurence Maccomdyn” in pet. of 4 July 1420 (*ibid.*, 214).

Lismore Parish Church

Patronage of vic. belonged to Earl of Ar. in 1497 (v. inf.).

Vicars

370. David Macuinrhard / Macmuireachrd / Marcard / Marchard (Daibhidh MacMhurchaidh) 1389

Occ. 18 Jan. 1389 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 64–64v; wrongly dated to 19 Jan. 1389 in *CPP*, 573; see also *CPP*, 575; *CPL Clement VII*, 169).

371. John Margantagart Machnnolkalnn (Eoin Mac an t-Sagairt Mac an Mhaoil-Chaluim(?)) 1496

Occ. 16 Dec. 1495 and 26 Jan. 1496 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1014, fols. 50r–50v; v. inf.).

372. Malcolm Salamonis (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Solaim) 1496–1497

Pet. 16 Dec. 1495 when req. union *ad vitam* with dean. of Ar.; papal prov. granting union and rehabilitation from irregularity was issued on 26 Jan. 1496 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1014, fols. 50r–50v; *CPL*, xvii, part II, no. 51). On 19 June 1497 he renounced all claim to the dean. of Ar. or the vic. of the same. Prob. serving the cure as vic. (AT, at date).

373. Dermot Makhecardych (Diarmaid Mac na Ceàrdaich or Mac a'Cheàrdaich(?)) 1531

Named "vicar or curate" of Lismore Cathedral Ch. 30 July 1531 (*Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1519–1666*, ed. R. Renwick, 2 vols. (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1887–1889), 267).

374. Master Allexander MacCawiss (Alasdair MacThàmais) 1544

Occ. 30 June 1544 (AT, at date; v. sup., no. 324).

CANONS OF LISMORE CATHEDRAL

(The prebends of the following canons are unknown.)

375. David (Daibhidh) 1250

Occ. 27 Sept. 1250 (*Pais. Reg.*, 134).

376. Nigel Celestini (Niall mac Ghill-easbuig) 1394–1411

Occ. 15 Oct. 1394, 23 March 1405 and 3 May 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 17, 133, 235).

377. Colin Dulgaldi Parini (Gille-Coluim / Maol-Coluim / Cailean mac Dhubhghaill Parini) 1395

Occ. 1 July 1395 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 40).

378. Duncan Macmicdonchychadalteege (Donnchadh Macmicdonchychadalteege) 1423

Occ. 9 Feb. 1423 (*CPL*, vii, 266).

379. Malcolm Macdubhgayllbig / Molcalmus MacDugaylbyg (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim MacDubhghaill bhig) 1426

Occ. 7 May and 10 July 1426 (*CPL*, vii, 461, 465). He rec. a papal mand. from Pope Martin V, who was d. by 20 Feb. 1431 (*HP*, i, 86–92; *CPL*, ix, 407–408).

380. Duncan Doncani (Donnchadh mac Dhonnchaidh) 1426

Occ. 10 July 1426 (*CPL*, vii, 465). He rec. a papal mand. from Pope Martin V, who was d. by 20 Feb. 1431 (*HP*, i, 86–92; *CPL*, ix, 407–408).

381. Robert Fevyr 1432

On 11 Sept. 1432 he claimed an unnamed can. and preb. of Ar. in lay patronage, although he was not in poss. (*CSSR*, iii, 253).

382. Thomas Esok 1448

Occ. 30 Oct. 1448 (AT, at date).

383. Archibaldus Campbell (Gill-easbuig Caimbeul) 1453

Identified as a can. of Lismore on incorp. into Glas. Univ. 25 Oct. 1453 (*Glas. Mun.*, ii, 61).

384. Thomas Carmichael × 1471

According to a pet. dated 7 July 1471 he is alleged to have simoniacally res. an unnamed can. and preb. of Ar. to Henry Murray (v. inf.).

385. Henry Murray c. 1471

Occ. 7 July 1471 when alleged to have obtained an unnamed can. and preb. of Ar. for the vic. of Holy Rude, Stirling through simony (CSSR, v, no. 1531).

Eilean Munde

Rect. in Crown patronage between 1510–1558 (v. inf.). A vic. occ. on 10 Sept. 1304 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

*Rectors***386. Beanus (Beathán)** 1442

Occ. 4 Oct. 1442 (Paton, *Mackintosh Muniments*, no. 7) Prob. identical with “Beanus Patricii”, priest dioc. M., notary public of imperial auth. on 11 May 1445 (W. Fraser, *The Chiefs of Grant*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1883), iii, no. 27).

387. Odo Olorchan / Olorken (Aodh Ó Lorcáin) 1465 × 1466–1468

Of dioc. Clonfert, Ireland. A mendicant brother of unknown order. On 1 April 1465 he obtained reservation of a ben. in the coll. of the bp. of Ar. (CSSR, v, nos. 1277, 1288; *CPL*, xii, 385). On 12 May 1468 and 7 June 1468 he appears in poss. and is said to have held it for 2 to 3 years (v. inf.). Ó Lorcáin is anglicised as *Larkin*; the suggested rendering *O’ Loynachan* (CSSR, v, no. 1277) is incorrect.

388. Dougal Mallenanaywg / Macllenanawygk / Macgillananayn (Dubhghall MacGhill–Fhinnein Bhig(?)) 1468

Pet. 3 times on 12 May, 7 June and 19 Aug. 1468 (CSSR, v, nos. 1277, 1288, 1295).

389. Master Johannes Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1510

Occ. 15 April 1510 when res. ben. (v. inf.). Perhaps identifiable with the fig. who graduated from St A. Univ. in 1507 (*St A. Acta*, ii, 280; v. sup., no. 147, however). Perhaps same person as “Master Johannes Campbell”, bastard, natural son of fourth Earl of Ar., who had himself and his 2 sons, also named Johannes, legit. on 24 May 1517 (*RSS*, i, no. 2910). Alternatively, he may be the same as Eoin Caimbeul, bp. el. of Sodr. (1514–1532) and son of Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy. He was a univ. graduate from Dk. dioc. (*BBT*, 15; Dilworth, “Iona Abbey”, 83, 84–85).

390. Donaldus Makstalkare (Dòmhnall Mac-an’-Stalcair) 1510–1531

Pres. 15 April 1510; d. in poss. before 24 Aug. 1531 (*RSS*, i, no. 2045; ii, no. 1000). Prob. from the Mac-an’-Stalcair kindred who were in the service of the Glenorchy kindred of Clann Chaimbeul during the mid-16th c. (Gillies, *Breadalbane*, 372–373; *BBT*, 197).

391. Patricius Zoung (Patrick Young) 1531

Pres. 24 Aug. 1531 (*RSS*, ii, no. 1000).

392. Laurentius Galt 1545–1558

Occ. as rect. of “Gegow” (Glencoe) in series of charters between 2 and 4 Nov. 1545 (*AT*, at dates); res. ben. 22 March 1558 (v. inf.).

393. Willielmus Galt 1558 x

Pres. *in expectationem* 22 March 1558 (*RSS*, v, no. 367).

*Vicars***394. Michael (Micheal) 1304**

Occ. 10 Sept. 1304 (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136).

DEANERY OF MORVERN / KNOYDART

Kilmonivaig

The patronage of this ch. was evidently disputed in the late 14th and early 15th c. In June 1393 the ch. was annexed to the dean. of Ar., with approval of the true patron, Dòmhnall of Islay, Lord of the Isles (*CPL Clement VII*, 192–193). “Alexander [Alasdair *Carrach*], Lord of Lochaber”, was twice named as patron in Autumn 1395, but Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles was

again identified as lay patron in July 1405 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 55–56, 56–57, 141). Later pet. of 19 Jan. 1409 and 27 June 1411 only state that the ch. was in lay patronage. On 8 July 1411 the pope confirmed his grant of the ch. *in commendam* to Bp. Beathán of Ar. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 194, 241, 243; *CPP*, 638). In Jan. 1420 Alasdair Stiùbhart, Earl of Mar alleged that patronage was granted by Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles to the late Bp. Beathán, and his succeeding bishops (*CSSR*, i, 157). However, this was prob. unsuccessful as the ch. was in lay patronage in 1466 (*CSSR*, v, nos. 1126–1128). In 1479 the Lord of the Isles annexed the ch. to Ardchattan Priory, which apparently still pertained in 1569 (*ALI*, nos. 117, 118; *BBT*, 215). However, patronage was exercised by Crown in 1515 (v. inf.). Patronage of vic. unknown.

Rectors

395. Benedict Johannis / Bean Johannis Andree / B[e]than Macgilleaus / Bean MacGillandris (Beathán mac Eoin mhic Ghill-Anndrais MacGill-Anndrais) 1388–1411 x

Occ. 13 Nov. 1388, when pet. to hold rect. with dean. of Ar. (*CPP*, 573; dated as 14 Nov. 1388 in *Reg. Suppl.*, 75, fols. 44r–44v). 18 Jan. 1389 req. exp. grace to can. and preb. in each dioc. of Db., Dk., M., and R. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 76, fol. 31v). 19 June 1393 the ch. was united to the dean. (v. inf.). Still in poss. after promotion to bp. and faced lit. from rivals supported by lay patron(s) on 31 Oct. 1395, 16 July 1405 and 19 Jan. 1409 (v. inf.). 27 June 1411 rec. absolution from excommunication for retaining the ch. after consecration to bp. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 240–241). Bp. Beathán was granted the ch. *in commendam* by the pope, who confirmed this on 8 July 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 243; *HP*, iv, 163–165).

396. Cristine Neachtain called Macalpen (Gille-Chrìost mac Neachtain MacAilpein) 1395

Pres. by Alasdair, Lord of Lochaber alleging vacancy by prov. of Beathán to dean., but Eoin, bp. of Ar., refused coll. Obtained papal prov. on 31 Oct. 1395, and papal mand. issued on 7 Nov. 1395, but poss. did not follow (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 55–56, 56–57).

397. Cristinus Dominici called Macdonnailylech (Gille-Chrìost mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach MacDòmhnail Lighiche) 1405

Pres. by Dòmhnall of Islay, Lord of the Isles, but Beathán, bp. of Ar., refused coll. Rec. papal prov. on 16 July 1405, but not poss. (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 141).

398. Cristin Dointi, (Gille-Chriost mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach(?)) × 1409
Occ. 19 Jan. 1409, when he was allegedly refused coll. by bp. following pres.
by unnamed lay patron (v. inf.). Prob. same individual as above.

399. Nigel Colini (Niall mac Ghille-Coluim / Chailein / Mhaoil-Chaluim) 1409 × 1411

As rect. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern rec. papal prov. on 19 Jan. 1409, but on 27 June 1411 this was ruled uncanonical (*CPP*, 638; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 194, 240–241). Prob. identical with Niall MacDuibh-shithe (v. inf.).

400. Master Nigel Makduuhie / Makduwhie / Macdwwfyge (Niall MacDuibh-shithe) × 1420

Named last rect. 8 and 15 Jan. 1420, and in latter instance as having died *en route* to the Roman court (*CSSR*, i, 143, 147; see also *ibid.*, 171). However, a pet. of 29 Jan. 1420 asserts he was depriv. by ord. auth. (v. inf.).

401. Duncan Canesii (Donnchadh Canesii) 1420

Occ. 29 Jan. 1420, alleging that Niall MacDuibh-shithe was depriv. by ord. auth. and that patronage of ben. was granted by Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles to the bp. of Ar. and his successors (*CSSR*, i, 157). However, a *reformatio* of 12 Feb. 1420 stated that some asserted that “the grant and donation had emanated from those not having power for the purpose”, and that the ch. was in lay patronage and coll. had lawfully devolved to the pope (*CSSR*, i, 172).

402. Martin Martini / Makillandis (Màrtainn mac Mhàrtainn MacGill-Anndrais) 1420

Pet. for new prov. 12 Feb. 1420. Asserted that ben. was vacant by d. of MacDuibh-shithe, and that he was prov. by the chp. of Ar., the see being vacant and the patron having failed to pres. within canonical time (*CSSR*, i, 171).

403. Symon de Grenlau (Greenlaw) 1420

Pet. for ben. 8 Jan. 1420 and 15 Jan. 1420, void by d. of Niall MacDuibh-shithe (*CSSR*, i, 143, 147).

404. Beanus (Beathán) × 1462

Named as last poss. of “Lochabre” rect. 3 June 1466 (v. inf.). Prob. father of incumbent “Kenneth Beani” and perhaps identical with Beathán, rect. of Eilean Munde, and also “Beanus Patricii”, priest, dioc. M., notary to instru-

ment of 14 June 1456 concerning status of the lordship of Lochaber (*ALI*, 90–92; *Mackintosh Muniments*, no. 6; v. sup., no. 386).

405. Henry Crichton × 1462

Named as formerly claiming a right to the ben. (v. inf.).

406. Rennicus / Kenneth Beani (Coinneach mac Beatháin) 1462 × 1463–1466

Pet. for prov. to “Lochabre” and chapel of “Querelo” (Cille Choirill) on 3 June 1466, having held it for 3–4 years without promotion to priesthood, but taking up the fruits *de facto* (*CSSR*, v, no. 1127). 13 June 1466 pet. for promotion to priestly orders as pars. of “St Nerani in Lochaber” (*ibid.*, no. 1128). On 3 June 1466 also pet. for dean. of Ar. (*ibid.*, no. 1126).

407. Thomas de Monro (Tòmas Mac an Rothaich) 1469

Occ. 28 June 1469 (*ALI*, no. 96).

408. Kennicus Makchannacht (Coinneach MacChananaich) × 1515

Named last rect. 27 Nov. 1515 (v. inf.).

409. Johannes Cameroun (Eoin Camshron) 1515

Pres. 27 Nov. 1515 (*RSS*, i, no. 2667).

Vicars

In Jan. 1389 a perp. vic. allegedly served the cure (*CPP*, 573).

410. Robert Stewart (Raibeart Stiùbhart) 1441–1454

Of dioc. Dk. and Ar. Occ. 12 Aug. 1441, when pet. for disp. for defect of birth (*CSSR*, iv, no. 798). 7 Oct. 1441 req. disp. to hold an incompat. ben. for life with the said ben., adding that he was “closely related” to “Alexander de Ylis, Earl of Ross and lord of the Isles” (*ibid.*, no. 817). 12 Jan. 1454 rec. disp. to hold the vic. for life with any other incompat. ben. (*CPL*, x, 656–657).

411. Sir Johne McCoule (Eoin MacDubhghaill) 1520

Occ. as vic. of “Kilmanavok” 22 Oct. 1520 (Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no. 71).

Kilmallie

Rect. in lay patronage in 1431 and 1435 (*CSSR*, iii, 166; iv, no. 177). Rect. and vic. in Crown patronage in 1549 (v. inf.).

*Rectors***412. Gilbertus (Gille-Brìghde) 1304**

Occ. 10 Sept. 1304 as rect. of “Kylmalduff” (*RMS*, ii, no. 3136). This could also refer to Kilmalieu par. ch.

413. Guilbertus (Gille-Brìghde) × 1356

Named last rect. 12 July 1356 (v. inf.). Perhaps identical with the individual above.

414. John Dugaldi Og (Eoin mac Dhubhghaill Òg) 1356

On 16 July 1356 he rec. papal conf. of prov. by ord. auth. to par. ch. of “St Malduff”, dioc. of Ar., though the conf. itself appears dated to 12 July 1356 (*GUS*, *Collectorie* 14, fols. 165v, 182v, 192v). Perhaps identical with later Bp. Eoin of Ar.

415. Angus Donaldi de Insulis (Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail of the Isles) 1419–1426

Occ. 24 Oct. 1425 when acc. of det. ben. with Kilcolmkill in Morvern for 6 years without disp. and non-promotion to priesthood (*CSSR*, ii, 120–121; v. inf., no. 433). On 2 June 1426 acc. of non-promotion and of det. said ch. for 7 years uncanonically. Still in poss. on 18 June 1426, 1 day before prov. to see of Sodr. (*CSSR*, ii, 132, 135–136). On 15 March 1431 the ben. was asserted as void by his earlier non-promotion to priesthood or by his accession to see of Sodr. (*CSSR*, iii, 166). Aonghas was a son of Dòmhnall, Lord of the Isles, and also the father of his namesake “Angus Angusii de Insulis”, future bp. of Sodr. (*CSSR*, iv, no. 105; v, no. 1018; *CPL*, xiii, 871; *LMMS*, 110; v. sup., nos. 188, 263).

416. Salamon David (Solam mac Dhaibhidh) 1425

Pet. and rec. prov. 21 May 1425, but not in poss. This was still the case when he pet. on 10 July 1425; and prov. was noted again on 14 July 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 90, 104 (2)).

417. John Patricii Maclenayg (Eoin mac Phàdraig MacGhill-Fhinnein-Bhig(?)) 1426

Pet. 2 June 1426 on grounds ben. was vacant due to non-promotion of Aonghas, who poss. it 7 years and more without canonical title (*CSSR*, ii, 132).

418. John MacArthua / Maccarchna / Martrachna / Maccarlina (Eoin MacArtair) 1426

Pet. 18, 19 and 27 June 1426 (CSSR, ii, 135–136, 140). He was d. before 15 March 1431, but a later pet. of 11 March 1435 shows that he was still contesting poss. with the incumbent MacEacharna before he died (v. inf.).

419. Colin Macheachyerna / Mace Achierna / Malcolmus Macherna (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim / MacEacharna) 1427 × 1473

Occ. 15 March 1431, when acc. of poss. for 4 years without promotion to priesthood (CSSR, iii, 166). Prob. still in poss. 11 March 1435 (CSSR, iv, no. 177) and is prob. identical with “Malcolmus Macherna”, who was named late rect. in pet. of 15 Jan. 1496 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v).

420. David de Pety / de Petyn 1431, 1435

Pet. 15 March 1431, nws. poss. of the united vic. of Petty and Brachlie, dioc. M., and the can. and preb. of Kirkmichael, dioc. R. (CSSR, iii, 166). Claimed that the cure was exercised by a perp. vic. who was inst. by ord. auth. (ibid.). A *reformatio* of 30 April 1431 repeated the req. (CSSR, iii, 181). 11 March 1435 req. pope to surrog. right of late Eoin MacArtair in his suit with MacEacharna (CSSR, iv, no. 177). A “Master David Pety” was chaplain of St Mary Chapel, Inverness in 1458 (*ER*, vi, 473).

421. Alexandrus Ronaldi (Alasdair mac Raghnaill) 1473 × 1483

Named on 15 Jan. 1496 as former rect. following d. of “Malcolmus Macherna”. He was prov. by ord. or apostolic auth. and held the ben. for 10 years or thereabouts, before his promotion to Saddell Abbey, prob. to the abbacy. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v). Perhaps identifiable with “Alexander Macalexander”, abbot of Saddell in 1499 (Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 186).

422. Donald Johannis de Insul[is] (Dòmhnall mac Eoin of the Isles) 1483 × 1493

Named on 15 Jan. 1496 as former rect. following incumbency of Alasdair mac Raghnaill, and said to have held ben. for 10 years or more without disp. as son of unmarried man and unmarried woman. Res. ben. to ord. auth. on grounds of illegit. (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v; Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.).

423. John de Culhona (Eoin MacCòmbaich) 1493–1496

Occ. 15 Jan. 1496, when he is acc. of having det. the ben. without canonical right for past 3 years (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v).

424. Malcolm Salomonis (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Solaim) 1496

Pet. 15 Jan. 1496 for rect. of “St Madulsi Inlocharna”, uncanonically det. by “John de Culhona” (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1015, fol. 155v).

425. Master Robert Hamilton 1520

Occ. 1520 (AT, at date).

An “M. Alexander Rattar” is named as a former vic. of “Kilmale”, on 8 Jan. 1532, but this actually refers to Kilmalie (Golspie) in dioc. C. (*RSS*, ii, no. 1111; *OPS*, 2:2, 648; *Surnames*, 684).

426. Johannes Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) 1536–1549

Occ. 25 Feb. 1536 (*RMS*, iii, no. 1562). Named last rect. 28 Aug. 1549 (v. inf.).

On 15 March 1542 gave a 5 year lease of his pars. of “Kilmalze” to Eòghan mac Ailein Camshron of Locheil at annual rent of 40 merks (*Protocol Book of Sir Robert Rollok 1534–52*, ed. W. Angus (*SRS*, 1931), no. 38).

427. Johannes Sclatar (John Slater) 1549

Pres. 28 Aug. 1549 (*RSS*, iv, no. 406). Prob. identical with vic. of Lochgoilhead (v. sup., no. 129).

Vicars

428. David de Pety / de Petyn 1431

Unsuccessfully pet. to hold vic. in union with rect. in *reformatio* dated 30 April 1431 (*CSSR*, iii, 181–182).

429. John Campbell (Eoin Caimbeul) × 1549

Named late vic. 22 Feb. 1552 (v. inf.). Prob. held both rect. and vic. simultaneously.

430. David Gibson 1552

Pet. 22 Feb. 1552 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2723, fol. 179r).

431. Dominus Joannes Pauli iunioris / Jhone McFaill (Eoin / Iain MacPhail) 1559

Occ. as vic. of “Kilmaly”, dioc. Ar., 11 June 1559 (Fraser, *Grant*, iii, no. 118). “Jhone Mcfaill, vicar of Kilmallie” was identified as the son of John MacPhail, pars. of Kilninver, in a bond of 14 Feb. 1571 (*Cawdor Bk.*, 177). Perhaps identifiable with “dominus Joannes McFaill in Kilmallie” who occ. 27 March 1588 (Fraser, *Grant*, i, 153), and possibly John MacPhail, vic. in Feb. 1602 (Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 258).

Kilcolmkill in Morvern

Rect. in lay patronage in 1425 and in 1426 to Lord of the Isles; still in lay patronage in 1470 and 1498; in Crown patronage in 1510 (*CSSR*, ii, 120, 138; v, no. 1464; *CPL*, xvi, 867; *RSS*, i, no. 2173). Patronage of vic. unknown.

Rectors

432. Nigel Colini (Niall mac Ghille-Coluim / Chailein / Mhaoil-Chaluim) 1408–1411

Occ. as rect. of “St Columba in Kenowaden” (Cenél Baitán) on 26 Sept. 1408. Occ. again on 19 Jan. 1409, 1 Nov. 1409 and 27 June 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 187, 194, 240–241; *ALI*, 26, app. C, 253. For Cenél Baitán see Fraser, “Three Thirds of Cenél Loairn”, 146–147).

433. Angus Donald de Insulis (Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill of the Isles) 1419–1426

Occ. 24 Oct. 1425, when acc. of det. ben. with Kilmallie for 6 years without disp. and non-promotion to priesthood and on 5 June 1426 also acc. of obtaining another incompat. ben. (v. inf.; v. sup., no. 415). Still in poss. on 19 June 1426 when rec. prov. to see of Sodr. and disp. to hold it nws. his illegit. (*CPL*, vii, 466, 478). On 28 June 1426 he rec. faculty to be ordained and consecrated by any bp., although Kilcolmkill is not mentioned (*CPL*, vii, 465–466).

434. John Malcolmi (Eoin mac Mhaoil-Chaluim / Ghille-Coluim) 1425
Pet. 24 Oct. 1425 (*CSSR*, ii, 120–121). Perhaps same fig. as the vic. of Kilmore (v. sup., no. 333).

435. Neil / Rogellus Obrolchan (Niall Ó Brolcháin) 1426

“Rogellus Obrolchan”, rect. of Killintag (“St Firmoe”) and secretary of Alasdair, Lord of the Isles, rec. prov. to the said ben. on 5 June 1426 (*CSSR*, ii, 133–134). A further *reformatio* followed on 22 June 1426 (*ibid.*, 138). The

name “Rogellus” is a misreading of *Nigellus*; the forename “Neil” is given when he obliged himself for annates on 4 July 1426 (*ACSB*, 93).

436. Angus Johannis de Insulis (Aonghas mac Eoin of the Isles) 1454–1456

Occ. 6 July 1454 (*CSSR*, v, no. 540; *CPL*, x, 715). 28 Feb. 1456, as rect. of “St Columbe in Moravia” he req. absolution from excommunication with new prov. to rect. of Kilchoman, Islay (*CSSR*, v, no. 589). However, a *reformatio* of 11 March 1456 adds that he had been rec. as a can. of R. by ord. auth. (*CSSR*, v, no. 593). A papal letter on this date suggests he had res. the ben. (*CPL*, xi, 261–262), but he was still in poss. on 28 June 1456 (*CPL*, xi, 109–110). On 6 April 1456 Aonghas rec. prov. to the archd. of Sodr., but it is unclear whether he was disp. to retain with it the rect. of Kilcolmkill or that of “St Germanus”, presumably Kilchoman (*CPL*, xi, 39–40). He was d. before 27 July 1456 (*CSSR*, v, no. 617).

A pet. of 28 April 1466 in *CSSR*, v, no. 1117 incorrectly identifies Kilcolmkill in Morvern with the preb. of Mora, dioc. Lismore, in Ireland (see *CPL*, xii, 482, 654–655).

437. Robert Fwloir / F[o]wlar 1470

Occ. 19 and 28 Nov. 1470, when acc. of wasting the goods of the ch., non-residency, simony, and fornication (v. inf.).

438. Malcolm Salamonis David / Malco[l]m son of Salamon Davidis (Maol-Coluim / Gille-Coluim mac Solaim mhic Dhaibhidh) 1470

Dean of Ar. Pet. for prov. to pars. of “St Columba in Moravia” 19 Nov. 1470 (*CSSR*, v, no. 1464). A *reformatio* on 28 Nov. 1470 was followed by prov. (*CSSR*, no. 1470; *CPL*, xii, 805). Obligated himself for annates 31 Dec. 1470 (*Cam Ap.*, *Oblig et Sol.*, [GUS] annates, at date).

439. Master Thomas Fleming 1497–1498

Occ. 10 April 1498, when acc. of poss. of over a year without promotion to priesthood (*CPL*, xvi, no. 867).

440. John Donaldi / Iudex / Breif (Eoin mac Dhòmhnaill or Eoin Breitheamh) 1498–1510

Rec. prov. 10 April 1498 while perp. vic. of Kilchoman, Islay. He req. to hold both in union with rect. of Kilchattan, Gigha, for which he also pet.

(*CPL*, xvi, no. 867). Prov. was successful, for “dominus Johannes Iudex” was named as late rect. of Gigha and Kilcolmkill in Morvern 30 Dec. 1510; as “Sir John Breif” he was vic. of Kilchoman, Islay before 6 Jan. 1511 (*RSS*, i, nos. 2172, 2173, 2178).

441. Angusius Makkane (Aonghas MacIain) 1510

Pres. to said ben. and rect. of Gigha 30 Dec. 1510 (*RSS*, i, no. 2173).

442. Hector John alias Maklan / Makelan (Eachann mac Eoin MacGhill-Eathain) 1510 × 1529

Named late rect. 11 and 25 July 1529 (v. inf.).

443. Charles Makclan / Makelan (Tearlach MacGhill-Eathain) 1529

Pet. for prov. to rect. of St Columba “de Knok in Kynvallnadanach” on 11 and 25 July 1529 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 1981, fols. 278v–279r; 1983, fols. 212r–212v).

444. Rodoricus Hectoris Jo[h]annis (Ruairidh mac Eachainn mhic Eoin) 1532

Occ. as rect. of “Morwarne” 8 Aug. 1532. (*Cawdor Bk.*, 158). Could he be a son of Eachann mac Eoin MacGhill-Eathain (v. sup., no. 442)?

445. Master Johne Angus (Eoin mac Aonghais) 1560–1580

Occ. as “persoun of Kilcollumkeil” 8 Oct. 1560 and 28 Nov. 1560; still in poss. as rect. of “Morverne” on 9 June 1580 (AT at dates). Prob. identical with “M[aster] Joannes Angus”, who on 1 Jan. 1592 was named late rect. of “Ycomekill” (Iona par. ch.), and who was father of “Angusius Makclaine”, who succ. to the rect. of Kilcolmkill and the estate of Knock (*RMS*, v, no. 1997; vii, no. 959; viii, no. 27).

Vicars

446. Dominicus Donaldi (Maol-Dòmhnach mac Dhòmhnail) × 1463

Named former vic. coll. by ord. auth. 21 May 1463. He became rect. of Kilchoman, Islay, while his father (Dòmhnall mac Mhaoil-Dòmhnach Mac an Fhir-lèighinn) was still vic. there (*CPL*, xi, 480).

Killintag

Rect. and vic. in Crown patronage in 1542 and 1548 (v. inf.). Also known as “Kilfynnyt” and as “St Findore Kilintaith in Morvern”, the ch. was evidently dedicated to Saint Findoc (hence *Cill Fhionntáig*). Inishail par. ch. also

bore this dedication, but its rect. was annexed to Inchaffray Abbey in 1257 (v. inf.; *RSS*, iii, no. 2963; v. inf.; *CPNS*, 304).

Rectors

447. Nigel Ymari / Suari (Niall mac Ìomhair) 1390

Occ. as rect. of “St Symioge”, dioc. Ar. 12 Nov. 1390, when he rec. prov. to archd. of Sodr. and was described as kinsman of Dòmhnall of Islay, Lord of the Isles. In the supplication he was said to be ready to res. the ch. of “St Symoga” (*CPL Clement VII*, 157; *Reg. Suppl.*, 78, 2v). Occ. as rect. of “St Fynnoge”, dioc. Ar., in undated list of bulls (*Reg. Aven.*, 204, fol. 279r) which prob. dates to this time (Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.). Nigel “Suari”, priest of Sodr. dioc., was said on 3 May 1408 to have held the archd. of Sodr. with the ch. of “St Fyinoch” without disp. against *Execrabilis* (*Reg. Aven.*, 329, fols. 418–419; *CPL Benedict XIII*, 173). It is unclear whether this ch. was in Ar. or Sodr. dioc., but the former is likely.

448. Nigel Cristini (Niall mac Ghille-Chrìost) 1392

Former rect. of “St Symoge”, before res. in favour of Killarow in Kintyre. Pres. to can. and preb. of Kilberry (*CPL Clement VII*, 170–171).

449. Duncan Patricii (Donnchadh mac Phàdraig) × 1426

Occ. 8 Dec. 1427, when he admitted to being former rect. of “St Fenoge”, dioc. Ar., and to having held it without obtaining a further disp. for defect of birth, having trans. from the par. ch. of Strath, Skye, dioc. Sodr. He later res. “St Fenoge” in favour of the can. and preb. of Kilberry and the rect. of Kilmichael in Kintyre. The pet. was prefaced by Alasdair, Lord of the Isles (*CSSR*, ii, 177–178). This trans. from Strath to Killintag prob. occ. by 1426 as on 18 March (15 April) 1428 his successor in Strath was in poss. for over 2 years, wherein “Duncan Patricii” is described as dead (*CSSR*, ii, 208). Perhaps identical with “Duncan Patricii”, who is described on 17 March 1431 as the late perp. vic. of “St John Evangelist in Ardnis” (prob. Killeen in Torosay), dioc. Sodr. (*CSSR*, iii, 166–167). He may, in turn, be identified with “Duncan Macgillamigel” (MacGille-Mhìcheil), named on 6 Aug. 1429 as the late vic. of St John par. ch., dioc. Sodr. (*ACSB*, 104; *CSSR*, iii, 31, 51).

450. Neil / Rogellus Obrolchan (Niall Ó Brolcháin) 1426

Occ. as rect. of “St Firmoe” [*lege* Finnoc?] 5 June 1426, when pet. for the rect. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern. The pet. was prefaced by Alasdair, Lord of

the Isles (CSSR, ii, 133–134). Req. a fuller disp. 22 June 1426 (*ibid.*, 138). His forename was Niall (v. sup., no. 435).

451. Angusius schir Ewinsone / Angus Eugenius (Aonghas mac Eòghainn) × 1542

Named last rect. 27 June 1542 (v. inf.). Suggested as possible father of Eoin mac Aonghais, rect. of Kilcolmkill in Morvern in 1560 (v. sup., no. 445; Maclean-Bristol, *Clan Maclean*, 141), but occ. as “Angus Eugenuis”, late rect. on 14 April 1550 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2704, fol. 203r).

Rector and Vicar

452. Charolus McClane (Tearlach MacGhill-Eathain) 1542

Pres. to rect. and vic. of “Killindyke” on d. of Ewinsone, 27 June 1542 (*RSS*, ii, no. 4719).

Rectors

453. Jacobus Walkare (James Walker) 1548

Occ. as rect. of “Kyllyntag” on 26 Nov. 1548 (*RSS*, iii, no. 3031). A “James Walcar” clerk, M.A., dioc. Glas., req. new prov. to archd. of Ar. on 22 May 1554 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2828, fol. 126v).

454. Archibald MacGilvrory (Gill-easbuig MacIllebhàrath) 1550

Pet. 14 April 1550, for rect. of “St Findore Kilintaith in Morvern” on its voidance by d. of “Angus Eugenuis” (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2704, fol. 203r).

Eilean Fhìonain

Rect. in patronage of Lord of the Isles in 1391; in lay patronage in 1438 and in Crown patronage in 1515 (*CPL Clement VII*, 169; v. inf.). It has been argued that the churches of Eilean Fhìonain and Moidart were identical.

Rectors

455. Roderick MacCathayl (Ruairidh MacChathail) × 1387

Named last rect. 18 Nov. 1391. His successor was app. during an epis. vacancy, prob. between 1382 and 1387 (v. inf.).

456. Macabeus / Machabee Patricii (Maccabeus mac Phàdraig) × 1387–1391

Rec. papal prov. 18 Nov. 1391. He had already been pres. by the patron Eoin, Lord of the Isles to the chp. of Ar. who prov. him to the ben. during

an epis. vacancy, prob. between 1382 and 1387 (*CPL Clement VII*, 169; *Fasti*, 35). Occ. posthumously as “Macabeus” on 4 Feb. 1438 (v. inf.).

457. Nigel Odonis (Niall mac Aoidh) × 1438

Named 4 Feb. 1438 as having held ben. for over 1 year without promotion to priesthood (v. inf.).

458. Laclaun Carmacii (Lachlann mac Chormaic) 1438

Pet. 4 Feb. 1438 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 438; *CPL*, viii, 624; see also *ACSB*, 120).

459. Andreas Makcacherne (Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna) × 1515

Named late rect. of said ben. and of Ardnamurchan, 30 Nov. 1515 (v. inf.).

460. Rodericus Alexandri / Rory McAleistir / Rannaldsoun (Ruairidh mac Alasdair MacRaghnaill) 1515–1547

Pres. to said rect. and Ardnamurchan, 30 Nov. 1515. (*RSS*, i, no. 2670). Still in poss. 3 July 1521 and 21 June 1534 (*Cawdor Bk.*, 139; *LMMS*, 137; *AT*, at date). Named as pars. of an unnamed ben. when charged with treason on 14 April 1547 (*RSS*, iii, no. 2246; v. inf., nos. 465, 473, 482).

Ardnamurchan

Rect. in lay patronage in 1427 (*CPL*, viii, 10). Alasdair, Lord of Ardnamurchan was named lay patron in 1472; in Crown patronage in 1515 (v. inf.).

Rectors

461. Angus Odonis Macay (Aonghas mac Aoidh MacAoidh) 1394 × 1425

Named former rect. of par. ch. of “St Congan” (though possibly Knoydart) on 29 Feb. 1428 following trans. from rect. of Kilchousland (*CSSR*, ii, 188–189; v. sup., no. 219).

462. Dugaldus Alexandri MacEan (Dubhghall mac Alasdair MacIain) 1425–1426

Occ. 18 May 1426, when rec. papal prov. to the priory of Oronsay. Offered to res. ben. on successful poss. of the priory, and obliged himself for annates (*CPL*, vii, 457–458; *ACSB*, 92). Appears to have had a long tenure as prior, his d. recorded as 4 Sept. 1472 (Watt and Shead, *Religious Houses*, 166).

463. John Angusii (Eoin mac Aonghais) 1426–1433

Prov. 7 Jan. 1428, void by non-promotion of MacIain (*CPL*, viii, 10; cf. *ACSB*, 95). 11 March 1428 req. disp. to hold rect. for life along with 1 ben. with cure (*CSSR*, ii, 197). He had earlier pet. on 23 Dec. 1427 for prov. to ch. of Knoydart (*CSSR*, ii, 180–181). Still in poss. of Ardnamurchan rect. on 12 June and 31 July 1433, when making further req. for Knoydart (*ibid.*, iv, nos. 47, 61).

464. Andreas Makcacherne (Gill-Anndrais MacEacharna) 1472–1515

Coll. by bp. 13 April 1472 (*NLS*, Adv. MS. 19.2.23, fol. 10r). Occ. 1506, when leased the lands of Sunart in Ar. (*ER*, xii, 709). Occ. posthumously as late rect. of said ben. and of Eilean Fhionain, 30 Nov. 1515 (v. inf.).

465. Rodericus Alexandri / Rannaldsoun (Ruairidh mac Alasdair MacRaghnaill) 1515

Pres. to the said rect. and that of Eilean Fhionain 30 Nov. 1515 (*RSS*, i, no. 2670; v. sup., no. 460; v. inf., nos. 473, 482).

Moidart

There are no records at all of beneficed clergy before the Reformation. A royal grant of lands made in 1309 to Ruairidh mac Ailein incl. those of Moidart with the right of patronage to the ch. in the same place (*RMS*, i, app.1, no. 9). In 1561 the pars. teinds were annexed to Iona Abbey (*Parishes*, 148). It has been argued that the ch. of Moidart and Eilean Fhionain were one and the same.

Arisaig

The lands of Arisaig (and by implication the patronage of the ch.) were incl. in a royal conf. to Raghnaill of Islay (“Reginald of Yle”) of the lordship of Garmoran on 1 Jan. 1373 (*RMS*, i, no. 520; see also nos. 412, 551). In 1398 the patronage of the “parish church of St Molrune” in Ar. dioc. was held by Gofraidh of Uist, brother of the aforesaid Raghnaill. Several churches were dedicated to Maol-Rubha (*CPNS*, 288), but the contextual evidence clearly favours the identification with Arisaig. Gofraidh evidently succ. his brother to the lordship of Garmoran and on 7 July 1389, as Lord of Uist, he issued a ch. from Castle Tioram in Moidart (*LMMS*, 127; *ALI*, 13). Patronage exercised by Crown in 1506–1517 (v. inf.).

*Rectors***466. Elias** 1250

Occ. as rect. of "Arasech", 27 Sept. 1250 (*Pais. Reg.*, 134).

467. Duncan Martini (Donnchadh mac Mhàrtainn) × 1387

Named late rect. of par. ch. of "St Molrune" [*lege* Molruue > Maol-Rubha] 28 July 1398 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 88–89).

468. Duncan Roderici (Donnchadh mac Ruairidh) 1387–1398

Rec. papal conf. 28 July 1398, vacant by delay in pres. by the lay patron or by the d. of "Duncan Martini". He had doubted the validity of his inst. by Màrtainn, bp. of Ar., having been pres. by "Goffred de Wyst" (Gofraidh of Uist), lay patron (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 88–89; *ALI*, 291, no. 28). The original coll. therefore occ. before Bp. Màrtainn's d. (1382 × 1387).

469. Johannes Dougalsen (Eoin mac Dhubhghaill) × 1506

Named late rect. 9 Oct. 1506 (*RSS*, i, no. 1338).

470. Dungall Johannis Dungalli (Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill) 1506

Occ. 9 May 1506, when aged 10 years old, pet. for prov. to unite rect. of Arisaig with par. ch. of Knoydart as a can. and preb. of Ar., the proposed union was to dissolve on his d. or res. (*CPL*, xviii, 640). As "Dunchaldi Johannis" paid annates on 29 May 1506 (*GUS*, PRO 31/9/31, 156, fol. 176r). Did not achieve poss., but the union may have been effective (v. inf.).

471. Johannes Makmurich / Makmury (Eoin MacMhuirich) 1506–1511

On 9 Oct. 1506 he was pres. to the rectories of the churches of St Comgan of Knoydart, Arisaig and Morar ("rectoria ecclesie S. Congani de Knokfurd, Arissak et Morven", see *RSS*, i, no. 1338). D. by 20 July 1511, when a new rect. of Knoydart was app. (v. inf.). Prob. identifiable with "Iohanni Laclam Macimrich" (Eoin mac Lachlainn MacMhuirich), clerk, dioc. Sodr., who rec. disp. as son of unmarried parents on 25 July 1472 (Jørgensen and Saletnich, *Synder Og Pavemakt*, 122, no. 140, see also p. 185).

472. Alexandrus Wentoun 1511, 1517

Occ. 20 July 1511 when recorded as succeeding to rect. of Knoydart (*RSS*, i, no. 2104). However, on 22 April 1517 Rannaldsoun was pres. to Arisaig and

Knoydart, vacant by d. of MacMhuirich or by the res. of Wentoun. (ibid., no. 2896).

473. Rodericus Rannaldsoun / mac Alasdair (Ruairidh mac Alasdair MacRaghnaill) 1517

Pres. 22 April 1517 (ibid.). Already poss. both Ardnamurchan and Eilean Fhìonain since 1515 (v. sup., nos. 460, 465; v. inf., no. 482).

Knoydart

Rect. in lay patronage in 1427 (CSSR, ii, 180–181); patronage exercised by Crown between 1506 and 1536 (v. inf.).

Rectors

474. John Macffredryn (Eoin MacPheadráin) × 1420

Occ. posthumously as rect. of par. ch. of “St Conan” on 9 Feb. 1420, holding the ben. with the par. ch. of Glenelg in plurality for over a month in violation of *Execrabilis* (CSSR, i, 169. For a possible earlier rect. v. sup., no. 461).

475. Meritii MacMellkyninich / Morice MacMobeam / Morice Meicmoleayvnych (Muireadhach / Murchadh / Muiris MacMaol-Coinneanaich(?)) × 1419–1427

Occ. 23 Dec. 1427 as former rect. of the united ch. of Knoydart; in poss. for over 8 years “after devolution” without promotion to priesthood, although the text of the pet. is corrupt and unreliable (v. inf.). Patronage “devolved” to the papacy as the patron had not made a pres. within the canonical time and this failing had not been remedied by the ord. collator after his right had passed following the first year of poss. He was named a former rect. in pet. dated 12 June 1433 and 31 July 1433 (v. inf.).

476. John Angusii (Eoin mac Aonghais) 1427, 1433

Pet. 23 Dec. 1427 for prov. to the united ch. of Knoydart (CSSR, ii, 180–181). As rect. of Ardnamurchan pet. again 12 June and 31 July 1433 with disp. to hold ben. with Ardnamurchan for life (CSSR, iv, nos. 47, 61; v. sup., no. 463).

477. Bean Doncani Albi (Beathán mac Dhonnchaidh Bhàin) 1430–1433

Occ. 12 June 1433 and 31 July 1433, when acc. of det. for over 3 years (v. sup.).

478. Johannes (Eoin) 1495

"Johannes" rect. of "Knodord in Moravia" (i.e. Moray or [deanery of] Morvern) occ. 2 July 1495 (*HP*, ii, 194–195; cf. "St Columbe in Moravia", v. sup., nos. 436, 438). Possibly the same fig. as "Johannes Dougalsen", rect. of Arisaig, who d. before 9 Oct. 1506 (*RSS*, i, no. 1338; v. sup., no. 469).

479. Dungall Johannis Dungalli (Dubhghall mac Eoin mhic Dhubhghaill) 1506

Pet. 9 May 1506, to hold in union with Arisaig (v. sup., no. 470).

From the incumbency of Johannes (1495) onwards, the rectors of Knoydart often held the ch. together with that of Arisaig, although whether this was an intentional union is unclear; for the names of these parsons v. sup., 'Arisaig'. Doubt exists over whether Wentoun's pres. to Knoydart incl. Arisaig (1510–1517), and Donaldson was only pres. to Knoydart, but the Crown did appoint MacMhuirich (1506–1510) and Rannaldsoun (1517) to both churches.

480. Johannes Makmurich (Eoin MacMhuirich) 1506–1510

Pres. to said rect. and rect. of Arisaig on 9 Oct. 1506 (*RSS*, i, no. 1338; v. sup., no. 471).

481. Alexandrus Wentoun 1511–1517

Pres. 20 July 1511 (*RSS*, i, no. 2104; v. sup., no. 472). Res. ben. by 22 April 1517 (v. inf.).

482. Rodericus Rannaldsoun / mac Alasdair (Ruairidh mac Alasdair MacRaghnaill) 1517

Pres. to said rect. and rect. of Arisaig 22 April 1517 (*RSS*, i, no. 2896; v. sup., nos. 460, 465, 473).

*Rector and Vicar***483. Nigellus (Niall) × 1536**

Occ. posthumously 2 July 1536 (v. inf.).

484. Johannes Donaldsoun (Eoin / Iain mac Dhòmhnaill) 1536

Pres. 2 July 1536 (*RSS*, ii, no. 2074). Perhaps identical to rect. of Glenelg in 1534 (v. inf.).

Glenelg

Rect. in lay patronage in 1436 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 266).

Rectors

485. John Macffredryn (Eoin MacPheadráin) × 1420

Named late rect. 9 Feb. 1420, when acc. of holding the par. ch. of “St Cumyn in Glenelge” with the par. ch. of “St Conan” (prob. Knoydart) over a month in violation of *Excecrabilis* (*CSSR*, i, 169).

486. John Mackelaich / Mackealith / Marcallich / MacKarnych (Eoin MacCeallaich(?)) 1420–1436

Pet. 9 Feb. 1420; *reformatio* on 16 Feb. 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 169, 176). 4 Jan. 1436 acc. of obtaining poss. and holding the ben. for over a year without disp. for non-promotion to priesthood, as well as concubinage, wasting goods, and knowingly celebrating mass while excommunicated (*CSSR*, iv, no. 233). Perhaps also rect. of Duirnish in Skye, dioc. Sodr., who d. at least 3 years before 14 Aug. 1445 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 1243).

487. Thomas Andree 1436

Pet. for rect. of “St Cumini of Glenelge” 4 Jan. 1436, noting that he was a clerk from dioc. O. A *reformatio* of 13 Jan. 1436 stated that the ben. was in lay patronage (*CSSR*, iv, nos. 233, 266). Prob. identifiable with Thomas Andree, rect. of Duirnish in Skye, dioc. Sodr., who was d. by 28 Feb. 1460 (*CPL*, xii, 60).

488. Iain MakDonald / John Donaldson (Iain mac Dhòmhnaill / MacDòmhnaill) 1534

Occ. June 1534 and 21 June 1534 (AT, at dates). A “Johannes Donaldsoun” was pres. by the Crown to a chaplaincy of St Maol-Rubha Chapel in Applecross on 28 May 1539, and apparently to another chaplaincy in the same chapel on 20 March 1540. He res. 1 of these on 29 Nov. 1540 (*RSS*, ii, nos. 3036, 3459, 3701). The 2 chaplaincies were sometimes held by the same individual and sometimes by 2 different clerks (Andrew Barrell, pers. comm.).

489. John Person (Eoin am Pearsan or mac a’Phearsain) 1540

Pet. for said ben. and rect. of Minginish on Skye, 19 March 1540 (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2368, fols. 124–124v). On 3 March 1538 rec. disp. for defect of birth as the son of priest and unmarried woman (*ASPA*, vol. 101, no. 7).

APPENDIX B

LIST OF UNIVERSITY-EDUCATED BENEFICED CLERGY BY INSTITUTION

In addition to the abbreviations already given, the following are employed here:

MacNeill, "Scottish Entries"	W.A. McNeill, "Scottish Entries in the <i>Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , 1519 to c. 1633", <i>SHR</i> 43 (1964), 66–86.
<i>Louvain</i>	<i>Matricule de L'Université de Louvain</i> , 12 vols. in 15, eds. E. Reusens and A. Shillings (Brussels, 1903–), vols. i–iii.
Lyall, "Cologne and Louvain"	R.J. Lyall, "Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century", <i>IR</i> 36:2 (1985), 55–73.
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BCL	Bachelor of Civil Law
B.Dec.	Bachelor of Decrees
B.Leg.	Bachelor of Laws
B.Th.	Bachelor of Theology
BUJ	Bachelor of Both Laws
DCL	Doctor of Civil Law
D.Med.	Doctor of Medicine
incorp.	incorporated
Lic. Art	Licentiate in Arts
Lic. CL	Licentiate in Civil Law
Lic. Dec.	Licentiate in Decrees
MA	Master of Arts
matric.	matriculated
OP.	<i>Ordo Praedicatorum</i> , or Order of Preachers (Dominican Order)
Sch. Art	Scholar of Arts

Sch. CL	Scholar of Civil Law
Sch. Dec.	Scholar of Decrees
Sch. UJ	Scholar in Both Laws

UNKNOWN UNIVERSITY

(all references to AT unless otherwise stated)

1. "Martin de Ergaill", OP. and probable theology student, 1342 (Watt, *Graduates*, 181–182).
2. "Angus de Ergadia", BCL, 1342 (*ibid.*, 179–180).
3. "John Dugaldi", Sch. Dec., 1350; named pope's scholar in 1366 (a scholarship from Urban V to support him at University); B.Dec., 1387 (*ibid.*, 157).
4. "Nigel Yvari", Sch. Dec., 1390 (*ibid.*, 529).
5. "Nigel Cristini", Sch. UJ, 1392 (*ibid.*, 127).
6. "John Dugaldi or Clerk", Sch. Dec., 1394–1395 (*ibid.*, 157).
7. "Nigel Colini", B.Dec., 1408–1409; Master, B.Dec., 1409 (*ibid.*, 107).
8. "Gilbertus MacPerson", B.Dec., 1411 (*CPL Benedict XIII*, 243–244).
9. "Nigel MakDuuhie" [MacDuibh-shithe], Master, 1420 (*CSSR*, i, 143).
10. "Bian Johannis", B.Dec., 1420 (*ibid.*, 184).
11. "John Cambel", BUJ, 1420; BCL, Lic. Dec., 1425 (*ibid.*, 210; *CPL*, vii, 378).
12. "Rogellus Obrolchan" [Ó Brolchán], B.Dec., 1426 (*CSSR*, ii, 133–134).
13. "John Angutii", Sch. Dec., Sch. Art, 1427 (*ibid.*, 180–181).
14. "Dugall de Lochaw" [Lochawe], Master, 6 May 1430; Lic. Dec., reading canon law *de moris*, 1441 (AT, at date; *CSSR*, iv, no. 789).
15. "John Arous"**, B.Dec., 1432 (*CSSR*, iii, 214).
16. "Malcolm Johannis" / of Dunblane, B.Dec., 1435 (*CSSR*, iv, no. 218).
17. "Alexandrus", Master, 12 March 1440.
18. "Peter Wilstun" [Wilson], Master, 30 October 1448, and 6 July 1452.
19. "Johannes", Master, 1450.
20. "Angus Johannis de Insulis", B.Dec., 1454 (*CSSR*, v, no. 540).
21. "Odo Olorchan" [Ó Lorcáin], Mendicant and probable theology student, 1465 (*ibid.*, no. 1277; *CPL*, xii, 385).
22. "John de Moffat", Master, 6 May 1467 (NLS, Adv. MS.19.2.20, p. 76).
23. "John Scrimgeor", Master, 11 June 1475 (NAS, GD 45/16/3047).
24. "Patrick Clerksoun", Master, 27 January 1480.
25. "Donald Brown", Master, 29 November 1516.
26. "Robert Hamiltoun", Master, 1520.

27. "Duncanus Man" [Ó Miadhaigh], Master, 23 December 1531 (*RSS*, ii, no. 1095).
28. "Gilbert McOlchallum", Master, 10 May 1529.
29. "Nigellus Leche", Master, 29 April 1530 (*RMS*, iii, no. 1379).
30. "Robert Bowie", Master, 21 February 1530.
31. "John MacPhail", Master, August 1535.
32. "Jacobus Striviling" [Stirling], Master, 1542 (*RSS*, ii, no. 4595).
33. "John Maccaw", Master, 27 November 1549 (*Statutes*, 88).
34. "Robert Montgomery", student of canon law and theology (*Reg. Suppl.*, 2865, fol. 20v).
35. "Johne Angus" [MacKinnis], Master, 8 October 1560 and 28 November 1560.

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

(all references to *St A. Acta*, unless otherwise stated)

36. "Moricius Johannis", styled "Master" 1409 but perhaps honorific as papal chaplain; another of same name designated BA 1414–1415 (i, 4; Watt, *Graduates*, 288).
37. "Petrus de Dalketh" [Dalkeith], BA, 1416–1417; MA, 1441 (i, 9; *CSSR*, iv, no. 816).
38. "Jorgius de Lawader" [George Lauder], BA, 1417–1418; Lic. Art, 1419; appears at meeting of Faculties of Law and Arts; present at recantation of Robert Gardiner in School of Law (i, cxlii, 12, 14, 40).
39. "Martinus Makgillandris", BA, 1418–1419; BA, 12 Feb. 1420 (i, 13; *CSSR*, i, 173, 212).
40. "Robertus Skrimgeour", BA, 1428–1429; Lic. Art, 1430 (i, 25, 30).
41. "Ercules [Hercules] Scrymiwor", BA, 1429–1430; MA, 11 April 1431 (i, 28, 32).
42. "Robertus Senescalli" [Stiùbhart], BA, 1433–1434; elected beadle 4 May 1436; MA 6 July 1436; MA, 1441 (i, 35, 42; ii, 105).
43. "Dominus Henricus de Murravia" [Henry Murray], Lic. Art, 10 June 1437 (i, 39, 45).
44. "Donaldus Cambell", BA, 1446–1447; Lic. Art, 1449; MA, 4 Feb 1454–1455 (i, 67, 78; ii, 105).
45. "Allexander Skrymgeowr", BA, 1449–1450; Lic. Art, 3 Nov. 1452; elected provisor 1459 and Dean of Arts, 1460 (i, 81, 92; ii, 130, 140).
46. "Johannes Froge", BA, 1455–1456; Lic. Art, 1458 (ii, 111, 125).
47. "Dominus Johannes Bykartown", "pauper". Lic Art, 1469 (ii, 167).

48. "Petrus Sandelandis", BA, 1469–1470; Lic. Art 1472 (ii, 170, 184).
49. "Thomas Flemyng", "solvit". BA, 1472–1473; MA, 1474. (ii, 186, 191).
50. "Thomas Nudry", "pauper". BA, 1475–1476; Lic. Art, 1477 (ii, 195, 198).
51. "Duncanus Makarthur", BA, 1495–1496; MA, 1497 (i, pp. cxlvii; ii, 254, 264).
52. "Jacobus [James] Haswel", BA, 1498–1499; MA, 1500 (ii, 269, 273).
53. "Johannes Campbell", BA, 1505–1506; Lic. Art, 1507 (ii, 280, 285).
54. "Negelus Campbell", BA, 1506–1507 (ii, 284).
55. "Archibaldus Makharbri" [MacCairbre], "pauper", BA, 1510–1511; Lic. Art, *per se*, 1512 (ii, 299, 302).
56. "Jacobus Scremgwr", "pauper", BA, 1511–1512. Named "Master", 2 July 1527, 1 March 1530 (ii, 301; RMS, iii, nos. 470, 902).
57. "Thomas Fyf" [Fife], "pauper", BA, 1515–1516; MA, 1517 (ii, 316, 323, see also 338, 347, 349).
58. "Gilbertus Corre"**, "pauper". Selected as "intrans", 1518 (ii, 326).
59. "Jacobus Scrymgeour", "solvit", BA, 1524–1525; Lic. Art, 1526 (ii, 348, 352).
60. "Jacobus Hamiltoun", "pauper", Lic. Art, 1526; or Jacobus Hamilton, senior and "Jacobus Hommilton", junior, BA, 1539–1540 (ii, 352, 390).
61. "Johannes M'Gregour", BA, 1527–1528 (ii, 357).
62. "Cornelius Omey", [Ó Miadhaigh] "dives", BA, 1528–1529; named MA, 12 Oct. 1557 (ii, 359; AT, at date).
63. "Nigellus Makarthour", BA, 1538–1539; MA, 1539 (ii, 387, 390).
64. "Robertus Lawmontht", BA, 1541–1542; Lic. Art, 1542–1543 (ii, 394, 397).
65. "Johannes Caswall" [Carswell], "pauper", BA, 1542–1543; Lic. Art, 1544–1545 (ii, 396, 400).
66. "Patricius Grahayme", "pauper", BA, 1542–1543; MA, 1543–1544 (ii, 396, 399).
67. "Jacobus Walcar" [Walker], "pauper", BA, 1543–1544; Lic. Art, 1544–1545 (ii, 398, 400).
68. "Nigellus M'Arthour", BA, 1544–1545 (ii, 399).
69. "Georgius Scott", BA, 1557–1558 (ii, 413).

GLASGOW

(all references to *Glas. Mun.*, vol. ii, unless otherwise stated)

70. "Dominus Patricius de Corntoun", incorp. 1451 (56).
71. Master John Arous, incorp. (unnamed) 1451 (Durkan and Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 128).

72. "Robertus Mur", incorp. 1451 (57).
73. "Dominus David Rede" [Reid], rect. of Dunoon, incorp. 1452 (60).
74. "Duncanus Obrolthan" [Ó Brolchán], incorp. 1453 (61).
75. "Dominicus Do[naldi]", incorp. 1453 (61).
76. "Archibaldus Campbel", dioc. Ar., can. of Lismore, incorp. 25 October 1453 (61).
77. "Willelmus de Elphinstoune", incorp. 24 October 1457; MA, 1462; Sch. Dec., 1465; awarded honorary Lic. Dec. in 1473 (65, 193, 197; MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 20, 26–29, 75–76).
78. "Johannes Campbel", can. of Lismore and rect. of Kilmartin, incorp. 24 August 1459 (66).
79. "Dominus Johannes Lauder", vic. of Lochgoilhead, incorp. 25 October 1460 (68).
80. "Robertus de Culquhone" [MacCòmbaich], rect. of Luss and Kippen, incorp. 27 October 1466, BA, 1468; MA, 1470 (72, 209, 213).
81. "Alexander Campbell", rect. of Kilmorich, incorp. 26 January 1468 (73).
82. "Willelmus Balze" [William Baillie], MA, 1468 (208).
83. "Johannes Broun", incorp. 25 October 1468, MA, 1473 (73, 218).
84. "Dominus Johannes rector de Kelmour" [Kilmore], incorp. 1469 (75).
85. "Dominus Robertus Campbell", incorp. 1473 (80).
86. "Georgeus Montgumry", incorp. 1473; BA, 1476; MA, 1488 (81, 222; Reg. Supp. 885, fol.25r).
87. "Dominus David Vchiltre" [MacUchtraigh or Ochiltree?], provost of Kilmun, dioc. Ar., 1475 (84).
88. "David Cunynghame", BA, 1476; MA, 1478; elected rect. 25 October 1489 (103, 223, 227).
89. "Adam Culquhone", incorp. 1484, BA, 1486; MA, 1488 (98, 247, 251).
90. "David Hammiltoun", incorp. 1489, BA, 1490; MA, 1492 (102, 257, 260–261).
91. "Johannes Cambel", BA, 1493; MA, 1495 (264, 267).
92. "Lachlanus Mactawiss" [MacThàmais], BA, 3 November 1508; Master, 1533–1547 (285; AT between dates, *passim*).
93. "Archibaldus McWeker" [Mac a'Bhiocair], incorp. 1512; Master, 1522–1548 (126; AT, between dates, *passim*).
94. "Laurencius Gawit" [Galt?], incorp. 1512 (126).
95. "Johannes Campbell", incorp. 1517–1519; Master, 1527–1561 (135; AT, between dates, *passim*).
96. "Nigellus Campbel", incorp. 1522; MA, 1528–1552 (147; AT, between dates, *passim*).

97. "Nygellus Lawmownd" [MacLaghmainn], rect. of Craignish, incorp. 26 February 1529 (156).
98. "Johannes Campbell", son of Earl of Argyll, incorp. 27 June 1534 (160).
99. "Alexander Maktavis" [MacThàmais], incorp. 1534; BA, 1536, Lic. Art, 1537, Master, 30 June 1544 (161, 288, 289; AT, at date).
100. "Gilbertus Corry", incorp. 6 June 1537 (162).

FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES

101. "Dougallus Petre de Scotia", issued safe conduct for Oxford on 30 March 1364; Sch. UJ 1380 (*Rot. Scot.*, I, 881b; Watt, *Graduates*, 359).
102. James Johannis, MA at Paris in 1373 (*AUP*, i, 421, 424).
103. "John de Congallis", Sch. Dec. at Paris in 1379 (Watt, *Graduates*, 115).
104. John Leche, MA at Paris in 1380 (*ibid.*, 340).
105. Bean Johannis, Sch. Dec. at Paris 1388 (*ibid.*, 287).
106. Finlay of Albany, OP., issued safe conduct for Oxford or Cambridge, 5 July 1396; B.Th., 1417 (Watt, *Graduates*, 4–5).
107. James Scrymgeour, MA at Paris in 1414 (*AUP*, i, 168, 175–176, 177); matric. at Cologne in 1419; named Lic. CL in 1421 and MA and Lic. CL in 1425 (Lyall, "Cologne and Louvain", 55; *CSSR*, i, 258–259; ii, 98–99).
108. Robert Scrymgeour*, dioc. St A., matric. at Louvain in 1430; named MA and Sch. CL in 1431 and MA, B.Leg. [bachelor of laws] in 1435 (*Louvain*, i, 222, no. 34; *CSSR*, iii, 213; iv, no. 197).
109. "Jacobus Wije de Schotia, Moraviensis diocesis" [James Wick], dioc. M., matric. at Louvain in 1441 (*Louvain*, i, 146, no. 19).
110. William Elphinstone**, B.Dec. and reader in Canon Law at Paris, 1465–1470; Sch. CL at Orleans, 1470 (MacFarlane, *Elphinstone*, 35–36, 38–39, 46).
111. "William Balce" [Baillie]**, D.Med. at Bologna in 1487 (Mitchell, "Scottish Law Students in Italy", *Juridical Review* 49 (1937), 19–24, at 22).
112. David Hamilton**, student at Paris circa 1501 (*ER*, xi, 372).
113. "Johannes Cambron" [Camshron] dioc. Ar., matric. at Paris on 10 Oct 1534 (McNeill, "Scottish Entries", 72).
114. "Nicholaus Campbel", matric. at Paris on 10 Oct 1552 (*ibid.*).

Note: There are occasions when clerics usually designated as *dominus* or “sir” are once referred to as “master”, but thereafter appear again as “sir” (for example sir Niall Fisher, designated “master” on 4 April 1529). Such instances, which are presumably due to scribal error, are omitted.

* Also attended St Andrews University.

** Also attended Glasgow University.

STUDENTS OF POSSIBLE WEST HIGHLAND ORIGIN

Glasgow

- 115. Archibaldus Makclakland (1527)
- 116. Nygellus M'Murroicht (1528)
- 117. Archibaldus Campbell (1532)
- 118. John M'Neile (1534)
- 119. Donaldus Campbell (1537)
- 120. Duncanus Makclaclane, son of Lord Makclaclane (1555)

(from *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 125, 153, 154, 157, 161, 163, 175)

St Andrews

- 121. Alexander Anguson (1493–1494)
- 122. Thomas Rannaldson (1514–1515, 1519)
- 123. Duncanus Dunkanson (1519–1521)
- 124. Mauricius MkClayn (1519)
- 125. Archibaldus Lamonht (1539–1541)
- 126. Alexander Makke (1540–1541)
- 127. Johannes Makclayn (1541–1545)
- 128. Duncanus M'Claughtin (1542–1544, possibly same as Glasgow, no. 121)
- 129. John Lermontht (1555–1557)
- 130. Joannes MacCuane (1556)
- 131. Lochlanus M'Cleyne (1556–1558)
- 132. Duncanus Campbell (1557–1558)

(from *St A. Acta*, ii, 243, 317, 329, 332, 337, 390, 392, 393, 393, 394, 395, 396, 399, 400, 406, 408, 413)

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